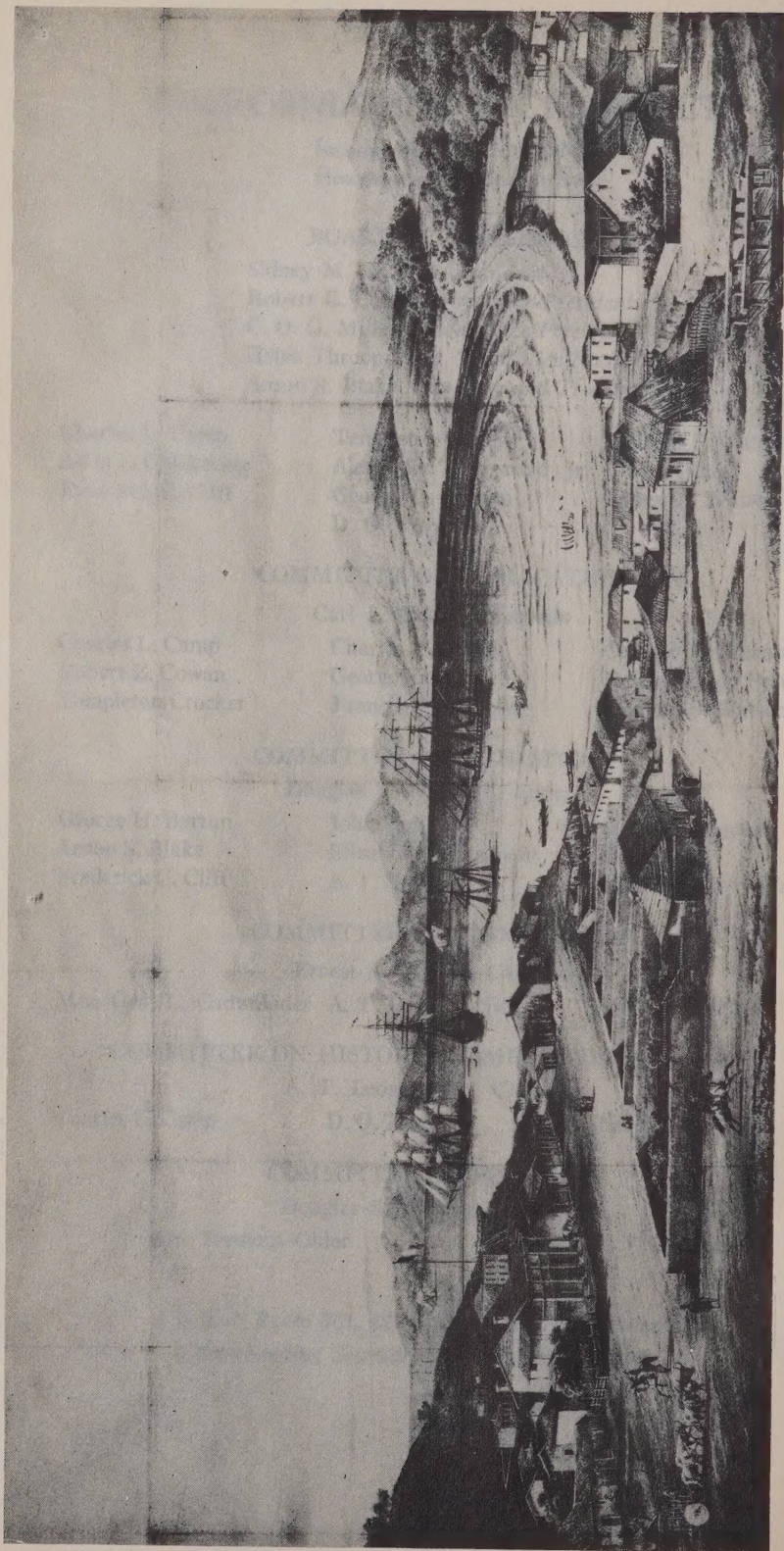


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MONTEREY and CITY OF MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 1842.

Drawn by Gildemeister, lithographed by D'Avignon, New York. Reproduced from a copy

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA, 1843-1856

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

INTRODUCTION¹

THE ARCHIVES of the French Foreign Office reveal the fact that France was far from being a negligible quantity in the history of California prior to its acquisition by the United States. France was just as desirous of obtaining "a place under the sun" in the Pacific as were the Anglo-Saxon countries, Great Britain and the United States. True, however, is the fact that the French were handicapped in their efforts in the Pacific by internal revolutions and faltering governments, and therefore the French menace was not, could not be, as great to the Mexicans in Mexico and California as was that of either the Americans or the British. Nevertheless the fact remains that French activities were sufficiently great to cause grave excitement not only to Mexico, but also in greater extent to Great Britain and the United States.

Vessels of France, commercial and whaling, war vessels and official expeditions sent out by the French government had at irregular intervals touched upon the coasts of California since the turn of the sixteenth century, but the greatest menace of the French in California, regarded as such by both England and the United States, was the official attention paid to California by France in the era of the "roaring forties." We are here interested only in this latter aspect of French activities in California.

¹ The writer is indebted to the Native Sons of the Golden West; the Social Science Research Council of New York; Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California; Monsieur Abel Doysié of Paris; and to the Director of the Archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Rigoult, for aid extended to him in his research work. During the academic year 1924-25 the writer enjoyed a year's residence in Europe as holder of the Native Sons' traveling fellowship. He spent five months working in the archives of France in an endeavor to investigate the activities of the French in California prior to 1850. During the academic year 1930-31, as holder of a Social Science Research Council Fellowship, the writer spent several additional months checking the French archives for additional materials, especially since during the five-year interval the French Foreign Office had opened its archives from February, 1848, to 1870. As a result of his researches in France the writer is now bringing to a conclusion a "History of the French Activities in California prior to Statehood" which is to serve as an introduction to a "Calendar of the Materials in the French Archives relating to California." A summary of that introduction was presented in a paper read before the 1928 meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association which was held at Claremont Colleges and was published in the March, 1929, issue of the *Grizzly Bear Magazine* and reprinted in the *Proceedings* of the Association. Most of the material in this introduction is taken from the above mentioned manuscript, where complete citations to the documents are given, and from the French Consular Correspondence which here appears in English translation.

Whereas England caused most of the anxiety of the United States and Mexico over the concerns and fate of California, France played an important part. When, after 1836, France became more and more interested in the Pacific area, the governments of England, Mexico, and the United States began to look upon her actions with suspicion. This was especially true in the case of the "Pastry War." When the *Danaïde* was sent to the west coast of the possessions of Mexico, immediately after the "Pastry War," the Mexican government became uneasy. Her uneasiness increased with the recognition of Texas by the government of France.² In the same year the *Danaïde* was sent to seek vengeance for the rumored capture of several French citizens during the Graham affair. The presence on the west coast of naval vessels of England, the United States and France at that time made the actions of each fleet cause for suspicion by the other countries. That such was the case can be shown by a single reference to the correspondence of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones with the Secretary of the Navy during 1842.³

During the "forties" the fear of foreign encroachment on the part of the American government had become real. Especially was this the case with respect to England. Owing to the strained relations between these two powers at that time over Texas, Oregon and Maine, the faintest rumor of an attempt by England to gain a foothold in California was sufficient to excite the whole United States press and official circles. American emigration to California, and the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in that region also gave rise to mutual suspicions on the part of each of these governments in regard to the possible annexation of California by the other. Hence we find the French ambassador to Mexico, the Baron Alleye de Cyprey, informing the French Foreign Office of these activities on the part of Great Britain and the United States. The French embassy at Washington was also keeping the Ministry at home well informed of Anglo-American relations.

The rivalry of Great Britain and the United States for California undoubtedly excited the French to action.⁴ After the preliminary groundwork had been laid by the visits of Du Petit-Thouars and La Place, the French government ordered Dufлот de Mofras to carry on an extensive inquiry respecting the Pacific slope.⁵

² Alleye de Cyprey to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Direction Politique No. 14, Mexico, May 18, 1840—Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Series, Correspondence Politique, Mexico, Vol. 18, folios 238-39 verso.

³ United States Documents, 27 Congress 3 Session, *House Executive Document* 166 (Serial 422). See especially pages 109-22.

⁴ In this connection, the following is of interest:

"France has long looked with jealous eye upon the movements of Great Britain in relation to Mexico . . . England has chipped off two or three little bits from Mexico, and is now about to make final arrangements for taking possession of the whole territory of California . . . To check this France recognized Texas . . . and Texas lays claim to California." *New York Herald* quoted in the *Honolulu Poly-nesian*, Nov. 21, 1840, as quoted in Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 112.

⁵ Minister of Foreign Affairs to Cyprey, No. 2. (Paris), November 6, 1839. *Aff. Etr. Pol. Mexique*, Vol. 18, folio 48.

In 1841, Cyprey was convinced that California would be inevitably lost to Mexico, but it was a question whether it would go to England or to the United States.⁶ De Mofras' voyage had encouraged the French government to act with respect to acquiring a protectorate or at least a commercial base in California, and De Mofras had told Californian officials that his country would look with favor upon any request to establish a protectorate over California.⁷ The request of the citizens of Monterey that a French Consul be appointed for California, and the consequent urging of the idea by Rosamel, De Mofras and Cyprey, strengthened the position of the French government to act in the hope of obtaining something out of the California position. France was prompted to action also by the capture of Monterey by Commodore Jones in 1842. The published correspondence between the United States and Mexico was sent in full to France by Cyprey.⁸

By that time, if not earlier, the activities of the French on the coast and French designs upon California had aroused the ire of officials of Mexico, England, and the United States. Pakenham's suspicions were so aroused by De Mofras' activities in California, and by the action of the French fleet in the Pacific, that he proposed to Palmerston that an English colony should be established in California.⁹ Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions in North America, had a similar plan in view of which he communicated to Sir John Pelly, England, on March 10, 1842, as follows:

The Governor [Alvarado], who seven years ago was appraiser of custom house goods, is an ignorant, dissipated man, quite devoid of respectability and character; and the commander of the forces [Vallejo], the next in rank, and standing, who was, a few years back a Lieutenant in the Army, has no pretension to character or respectability, and like most others in the country, betrays a gross want of honesty and veracity, while much jealousy and ill will exists between these great men, who are total strangers to every feeling of honor, honesty or patriotism, and I believe, are ready to sell themselves and their country, at a moment's notice, to the highest bidder.¹⁰

⁶ Cyprey to Minister, No. 58, Mexico, June 4, 1841. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, folios 162-63.

⁷ E. D. Adams, "English Interests in California," *American Historical Review*, XIV, 749. Concerning Duflot de Mofras see his *Explorations du Territoire de l'Oregon des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille . . . pendant les années 1840, 1841, 1842*, Paris, 1844 (2 vols. and an atlas). These memoirs are in Aff. Etr., *Memoires et Documents*, Series, Amerique, Vols. 43 and 44. There are many documents in the Corr. Pol. Mexique series in the Foreign Office relating to De Mofras, especially Vols. 18, 20 and 21, and some of his letters are also found in the Consular Correspondence and elsewhere in the French Archives. The materials in the Bancroft Library relating to De Mofras are cited in the notes to Bancroft's *History of California*. There is a series of manuscript volumes of De Mofras material in the Bancroft Library that is not cited in Bancroft. A summary of De Mofras based on Bancroft Library materials is contained in Rufus K. Wyllys, "French Imperialism in California" in the *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 116-29. Some interesting revelations from the French Archives are given in G. V. Blue, "Unpublished Portions of the Memoires of Duflot de Mofras," in *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association*, 1928, 89-102. Many other items connected with De Mofras are given in my "French Activities in California Prior to Statehood" cited above. Some of his maps are contained in the Archives du Service Hydrographique de la Marine, e.g. Portefeuille 171.

⁸ Aff. Etr. Corr. Pol. Mexique, Vol. 27, folios 119 et seq.

⁹ Pakenham to Palmerston, Aug. 30, 1841. Extracts in *American Historical Review*, XIV, 745-46.

¹⁰ Dr. Joseph Schafer, the editor of these Simpson letters, adds this note: "Compare Simpson's published [Sir George Simpson's *Voyage Round the World*, London, 1847] opinions of these officials in his *Narrative*, I, 309 et seq., 348."

Of the 600 residents, about 400 are Americans and about 100 British. The former not only from their numbers, but from their pushing and active habits, and forward character, have much influence, and may be said to give law to the country. Many of the British residents are much respected, and the feelings of the different classes of the natives is favorable to Great Britain, while they look upon the United States, and her citizens with much jealousy and alarm.

The country from its natural advantages, possessing as it does the finest harbor in the Northern Pacific, in the Bay of San Francisco, and capable, as it is, of maintaining a population of millions of agriculturists, might become invaluable to Great Britain as an outlet to her surplus population, as a stronghold and protection to her commerce, and interests in these seas, and as a market for her manufactures; and as the principal people in the country, and indeed the whole population seem anxious to be released from the Republic of Mexico, which can afford them neither protection nor assistance, and are apprehensive that they may fall within the grasp of the United States, I have reason to believe they would require very little encouragement to declare their independence of Mexico, and place themselves under the protection of Great Britain. Indeed it has been communicated to me, confidentially, and I feel authorized to say, that the presence of a British cruiser on the coast, with a private assurance of protection from Great Britain, and appointments being given to the present higher authorities and officials would not involve a larger sum than a few thousand pounds per annum, would be a sufficient inducement to declare themselves independent of Mexico and claim the protection of Great Britain. If Great Britain be unwilling to sanction or encourage such a declaration, I feel assured, that some step will very soon be taken, with the like object, in favor of the United States.¹¹

The British residents at one time thought there was a probability of the country falling into the hands of England, in liquidation of the debts owing by the Mexican government, but this they now seem to think would be a sacrifice of money on the part of the nation as they feel that California might be acquired without any such outlay, the people being willing to place themselves and their country at the disposal of Great Britain.

Simpson's letters were turned over to Lord Aberdeen for use by the Government.¹² He declares:

The British residents in both these islands [Sandwich Islands] and in California, complain bitterly that their interests were, for a length of time, lost sight of by the British Government, in comparison with those of the subjects of the United States and France, few or no British cruisers having ever visited either these islands or California, unless casually, for the purpose of refreshment, or for the advancement of science; whereas the visits of American men-of-war have been very frequent, while those of France are becoming more so from year to year than is agreeable to the native inhabitants. There are always several British men-of-war on the Southern Pacific Station, which might without inconvenience run across with the Trades of these Islands, and on their return, visit the coast of California, by their presence affording protection to the interests of the British residents at those places, while it would have the effect of giving to Great Britain a weight and influence in those countries which she could not otherwise obtain or possess.¹³

The person who became most excited over foreign activities and designs upon California was the American Ambassador to the neighboring Republic, Waddy Thompson. Thompson, in his letters to Tyler and Daniel Webster continually urged that the threat of foreign aggression in California was an important, if not the only reason for the acquisition of that territory by the United States. "France and England both have their eyes upon it," wrote Thompson in his despatch of April 29, 1842, to Secretary of State Webster.

¹¹ Lord Ellenborough of the Admiralty strongly urged on Lord Aberdeen the advantages of acquiring San Francisco. "... let us obtain possession, while we can, of the key of the north-west coast of America." Sir Arthur Gordon (Stanmore), *The Earl of Aberdeen* (New York, 1893), 183.

¹² J. H. Pelly to Earl of Aberdeen, Hudson's Bay House, January 23, 1843. *American Historical Review*, XIV, 71-72.

¹³ Simpson to Pelly, Honolulu, Oahoo, March 10, 1842. *Ibid.*, XIV, 86-93.

In the meantime Cyprey's correspondence emphatically pointed out the importance of California. French trade with California was increasing, and the Consul of France at Mazatlan, Ad Geroult, spoke also of the importance of California to his home Government. The latter had in view the procurement in California of cattle, and other supplies for the French establishment in Oceania.¹⁴ Cyprey was instrumental in laying before the Mexican Government the claims of Captain Duval, whose ship, the *Fanny*, according to the French captain, was improperly detained, tonnage dues which he did not owe were extorted from him, and the Californian authorities facilitated desertions from his vessel. Three or four years previously Cyprey had advocated the establishment of a French Consulate in California, and had also worked to protect French residents there when the Mexican Government decreed the exclusion of all foreigners from California.¹⁵ Finally Cyprey adopted the view that California was so important that the French should seize it. He wrote to his superior, Foreign Minister Guizot, as follows:

In the presence of an eventuality of this kind, what should France do? I still believe — and everything fortifies me in my belief — that France is called to regenerate Mexico, to organize it, to give it a form of government which answers to its needs. One would say that it is her providential mission to carry the benefits of modern civilization into distant lands. She has had the Egyptian expedition; that of Algiers. Shall she have that of the ancient empire of Montezuma? Shall she accomplish the task begun by Cortez? Whether or not that destiny be accomplished, it seems to me that at the present juncture France cannot remain inactive; that she must be ready to seize it (also, a guarantee of indemnity); and that there is nothing that would suit her better than the Californias.

If that necessity presents itself, it is of easy accomplishment, the Pacific station is powerful enough to take possession of that territory; a part of the soldiers now in the Marquesas Islands or in the Society Islands could be transported there; and in the meantime, a small expedition leaving our ports could double Cape Horn, and would transport new troops to complete the occupation of the Californias and likewise effect replacements in the garrisons of the Isles de l'Océanie. I think this provision should be included in the instructions to the general officer commanding the Great Ocean station . . . no matter what may be the dispositions which the Government of His Majesty shall deem proper to adopt with regard to Mexico.¹⁶

Orders were issued to the French Ambassador in London, June 10, in an effort to secure the cooperation of the British Government in taking common action to secure the repeal of the Mexican decree of September 23, 1843, prohibiting retail trade by foreigners.¹⁷

On the 7th of August, Ad Geroult wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, complaining of a lack of French vessels in the Pacific. In the last paragraph of the letter, the French Consul deemed advisable the establishment of two new Consulates, one to be at Monterey, to insure protection of the interests

¹⁴ Geroult to Min. des Aff. Etr., No. 30, Mazatlan, May 8, 1844. Aff. Etr. Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 26, folios 245-46 *verso*.

¹⁵ Cyprey to Guizot No. 58, June 4, 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. 20, folios 162-63. See also Monasterio to Cyprey, Palacio Nacional, Mexico, May 21, 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. 20, folios 164-65 *verso*; Cyprey to Camacho, Mexico, May 27, 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. 20, folios 166-66 *verso*. All enclosed in Cyprey to Min. No. 58, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Cyprey to Guizot No. 248, Mexico, May 21, 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. 26, folios 291-96.

¹⁷ Min. des Aff. Etr. to Comte de Ste. Aulaire, No. 42, Paris, June 10, 1844, *ibid.*, Vol. 27, folio 18. This was answered on June 14, 1844.

of France.¹⁸ In December he compiled a list of war vessels which had visited Mazatlan during the year, listing but one French vessel of war, the *Boussole*, which had sojourned there from the 5th to the 10th of February. In his note under the caption "observations," he bewails the fact that not a single war vessel had appeared upon the coast for four years.¹⁹

Cyprey was the central figure in agitating the claims of the vessel *Angelina* which was outrageously attacked by Micheltorena's "Cholos" at Monterey on September 24, 1844, and in the early part of 1845 he held a secret conference in Mexico City with the British Minister, Bankhead, the object of the conference being to obtain concerted action on the part of France and England with regard to negotiations then in progress concerning Mexico. Bankhead was in constant fear of the seizure of California by the United States. He recognized that should Mexico declare war, the United States would unquestionably seize the Californias, a prospect which was desirable neither to France nor England.²⁰

In August Cyprey urged an attack upon California by the naval force of France in the Pacific, and when war became inevitable, Mexico instructed its ministers at Paris and London to endeavor to secure the assistance of France and England to prevent the taking of California by the United States.²¹ But when the war actually commenced the French Embassy had to content itself by sending regrets of the activities of the American forces in California. These minute statements were well recorded in the archives of France.

Meanwhile dispatches of American officials echoed their suspicions of French designs upon California.²² Chief among these officials was Thomas O. Larkin, United States Consul at Monterey. Larkin was most suspicious of Great Britain. In nearly every dispatch he warned the Government of the United States of the designs of Great Britain on California.²³ France crept within the bounds of Larkin's suspicions after July 9, 1845, when he informed Secretary of State Buchanan by letter that both France and England had appointed salaried Consuls in California, neither of whom had any apparent commercial interest. Larkin's letter of July 10 was sent in a somewhat stronger form to the *New York Sun*, which letter was copied by many other newspapers. In it Larkin stated clearly that California must either belong to the United States, or it would pass into the hands of France or England.²⁴ To increase the State Department's

¹⁸ Geroult to Min. No. 34, Mazatlan, Aug. 7, 1844, *ibid.* Vol. 28, folios 5-8.

¹⁹ "Il y avait quatre ans qu'un navire de guerre Français n'avait paru sur la côte." *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, folio 67.

²⁰ Cyprey to Guizot, No. 305, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, folio 73. See also folio 82. The endeavor to secure joint action relates to Texas, and only incidentally to California. For a full account of this affair see E. D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas* (Baltimore, 1910), Chapters VII *et seq. passim*.

²¹ Cyprey to Guizot, No. 334, Aug. 25, 1845, *Aff. Etr.*, *Corr. Pol.*, Mexique, Vol. 32, folios 154-60 *verso*.

²² Castillo to Almonte, March 23, 1846. *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, folios 189-94. See also the letters and replies of Thomas Murphy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, October 1, 1845, to June 1, 1846, in Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, *Lord Aberdeen, Texas y California* (Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano No. 15) Mexico, 1925, 46-72 *passim*.

²³ The Larkin Correspondence is in the Bancroft Library.

²⁴ Reprinted in *Niles Register*, LXIX, 204, and in many other newspapers.

suspensions of foreign designs upon California there came reports of a plan, countenanced by France, Spain and England, to establish a monarchy in Mexico and call in a European prince. It was recognized that such a plan would be fatal to President Polk's purpose of securing California,²⁵ and aggression in California prompted the President to record in his journal that the sending of a mission to Mexico must be kept secret, lest the French and British take measures to thwart or defeat its objects.²⁶

On October 14, 1845, three days after receiving Larkin's report of the 10th of July, Buchanan wrote McLane regarding the Oregon question as follows:

The disposition of the two nations [France and England] to meddle in the concerns of this continent, the strong suspicions entertained that they are now intriguing both in Mexico and California in relation to the latter are noted by advices from Monterey of the 10th of July last. We are informed of the arrival of a British and French consul in Upper California without any ostensible commercial business.

The administration's fear of foreign interference in California is aptly disclosed by the instructions sent to Larkin and Slidell, written by Buchanan on the 17th of October. They contain the following significant passages:

The future destiny of that country [California] is a subject of anxious solicitude for the Government and people of the United States. The interests of our commerce and our whale fisheries on the Pacific Ocean demand that you [Larkin] should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire a control over that country. In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a sister Republic . . . He [President Polk] could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European power . . . The appearance of a British Vice Consul and a French Consul in California at the present crisis, without any apparent commercial business, is well calculated to produce the impression, that their respective governments entertained designs on that country —(which must necessarily be hostile to its interests). . . . (Whilst) I repeat that this government does not, under existing circumstances, intend to interfere between Mexico and California, it would vigorously interpose to prevent the latter from becoming a British or French Colony.

Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the Free and Independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause for complaint. Their true policy for the present in regard to this question, is to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent to Great Britain or France.

In this case the Californians were to resist by force, with the implication that the United States would assist them.

In addition to being made United States Consul, Larkin was appointed as the confidential agent of his Government, but in so appointing him Buchanan

²⁵ See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, Chaps. II-III *passim*.

²⁶ *Diary of James K. Polk* (edited by Milo M. Quaife, Chicago, 1910). Entry for Tuesday, Sept. 16, 1845, Vol. I, 33-35.

warned him to "take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents there by assuming other than your Consular character."²⁷

Similar instructions were given to Slidell, commissioned on November 10, 1845, to be Ambassador to Mexico.²⁸ Part of the communication follows:

There is another subject of vast importance to the United States, which will demand your particular attention. From information possessed by the Department it is to be seriously apprehended that both Great Britain and France have designs upon California. The views of the Government of the United States on this subject you will find presented in my dispatch to Thomas O. Larkin, Esqr., our consul at Monterey, dated October 17, 1845, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. From it you will perceive, that whilst this Government does not intend to interfere between Mexico and California, it would vigorously interfere to prevent the latter from becoming either a British or a French colony. You will endeavor to ascertain whether Mexico has any intention of ceding it to the one or the other power; and if any such design exists, you will exert all your energies to prevent an act, which, if consummated, would be so fraught with danger to the best interests of the United States. On this subject, you may freely correspond with Mr. Larkin, taking care that your letters shall not fall into improper hands.²⁹

Until the outbreak of the war, the American Secretary of State feared that if England learned of the determination of President Polk to acquire California, she, together with France, would join Mexico against the United States.³⁰ However, the possibility of a war with the United States, coupled with uncertainty as to what action France would take, caused Great Britain to refrain from acquiring California.³¹

The chief item of fear inculcated into the minds of the Mexicans, British, and particularly the American agents concerning the designs of France upon California seems to revolve about the appointment of a consular agent by France for California. French residents of California and of Mexico had for some years

²⁷ Buchanan to Larkin, Washington, Oct. 17, 1845. The original of this document is in Larkin, Documents for the History of California, III, 357, MS. Bancroft Library. It may be found printed in several places, to wit:

John Bassett Moore (editor) *The Works of James Buchanan* (12 vols.), VI, 275-78 (as found in the Department of State, Special Missions I, 230).

California Historical Society *Quarterly*, V, 298-300 (as found in the Bancroft Library).

Rayner W. Kelsey, *The United States Consulate in California* (Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications, I, No. 5, Berkeley, 1910), Appendix 4, 100-3 (260-63). (As found in the Bancroft Library.)

Century Magazine, XIX, 928-29.

A long quotation from it may be found in Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 596-97 (as found in Bancroft Library).

The original of this letter was brought to California by Commodore Stockton on the U. S. S. Congress. Copies were given to Archibald Gillespie (Polk's *Diary*, I, 83-94, and Larkin to Buchanan, April 17, 1846, California Historical Society *Quarterly*, V, 301). Larkin, Official Correspondence, II, 52, MS. Bancroft Library.

Larkin received the letter on April 17, 1846. Larkin to Buchanan, Monterey, April 17, 1846. Larkin, Official Correspondence, II, 52.

²⁸ Polk's *Diary*, I, 93. See also I, pp. 91-92.

²⁹ Buchanan to Slidell, No. 1, Washington, Nov. 10, 1845. Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, VI, 294-306 (quotation in text is on page 304). Also in United States Documents: 30 Cong. 1 Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc.* 52 (Serial 509); 30 Cong. 1 Sess., *Senate Exec. Doc.* 60 (Serial 509); 30 Cong. 1 Sess., *House Exec. Doc.* 69 (Serial 521).

³⁰ Polk's *Diary*, I, 397. See also Gordon, *Earl of Aberdeen*, 182-84.

³¹ George Lockhart Rives, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1913), II, 52. Compare Justin Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), II, 304-305; 504-507. The foregoing account has been based upon Chapter V of Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 231-47. This constitutes pp. 82-97 in the reprint.

been demanding the establishment of a consulate there, and in 1840 the inhabitants of Monterey petitioned Rosamel for a consul. De Mofras urged the establishment of a consulate, Ad Geroult urged one, as did also Ambassador Cyprey. All of these urgings finally reached the attention of the French Foreign Office, and bore fruit, for shortly the French Government announced the appointment of a Consular agent at Monterey, and soon began to urge the appointee to repair to his post, where the interests of France required his immediate attention.³²

PART I

THE INCUMBENCY OF GASQUET

THE EXACT date of the appointment of the first French consul to California is unknown, but as early as November 3, 1842, François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, Louis Phillipe's Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to one Bosserons (Bosseront?), whom he addressed as "Consul at Monterey," but who was at the time acting consul at Santander, Spain. On October 28th the King had appointed one Louis Gasquet "Chancellier du Consulat de Monterey" (a post somewhat resembling that of our so-called "Vice-Consul" and here translated as "Chancellor"), and by an even earlier decree (October 12) it had been ordered that in the case of that consulate the minimum annual remittances to *chancelleries* should be doubled (Document I).¹

Bosserons was busy at Santander, and Gasquet was therefore ordered to take over the provisional management of the new consulate (Document II). On July 25, 1843, the King appointed one Barrière, then Consul of the second class at Santo Domingo, as Consul at Monterey in Bosserons' place, and directed him to proceed at once to his post (Document III). Gasquet had already departed for the far country, and on July 27th the Minister wrote to him announcing the appointment and ordering him to hand over the service to Barrière on the latter's arrival, and to present Barrière to the local authorities (Document IV).

Barrière never reached Monterey. The French government's reasons in this respect are at present unknown, but Gasquet actually served as acting consul at Monterey until the arrival in 1846 from the South Seas of Consul J. A. Moerenhaut, who was appointed to the post on April 26, 1845 (Document VII). Gasquet's official title was "Gérant du Consulat," which corresponds to the American consular post of "acting consul."²

Gasquet was at this time a gentleman of some fifty-five years of age, very refined in appearance and punctilious in mode of life. Of an impetuous Latin

³² Rosamel to Cyprey, Corvette *La Danaïde*, Baye de Monterey, July 8, 1840. Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 19, folios 138-40. This is enclosed in Cyprey to Thiers, No. 15, Aug. 21, 1840, *ibid.*, Vol. 19, folios 133-34. Fourcade and Remi Leroy to Cyprey, June 20, 1840, *ibid.*, Vol. 19, folio 135. Also enclosed in Cyprey to Thiers No. 15. De Mofras, *Explorations de Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies, etc.* Geroult to Minister, No. 30, Mazatlan, May 8, 1844, Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 26, folios 245-46 *verso*. Cyprey to Guizot No. 58, June 4, 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. 20, folios 162-63.

nature, he was excitable and was not endowed with an over-generous amount of common sense. He was not able to adapt himself to the circumstances with which he came in contact in his new post. Though sociable and likeable, he appears to the writer to have found himself in a position too large for his mentality, and on the whole he does not appear to have enhanced the reputation of France in international relations during the critical period of his incumbency at Monterey.

Gasquet arrived in Mexico during the summer of 1843, having left France between May 5 and July 27, and having arrived before November 18. He presented himself to the French Ambassador, Baron Alleye de Cyprey, who requested the Mexican Foreign Minister for an exequatur, which was evidently granted, for on November 18, 1843, Bocanegra wrote to Governor Micheltorena in California announcing Gasquet's appointment as consul *ad interim* until M. Barrière, the regular appointee, could arrive.

We shall not here duplicate the material contained in the Gasquet documents. They may well speak for themselves. It is of interest, however, to trace in barest outline his career in California. His letter from Mexico City received in Paris on July 4, 1844 (Document V) is illuminating. In it he recounts what he has learned of the expense of living in Monterey, and he urges that the dignity of France cannot be maintained on the meagre salary of Chancellor. Something also should be allowed, he thinks, for the sacrifice of having to live so far away from the delights of Paris on that lonely American shore, and he "resigns" his post in a burst of the most mellifluous of Latin verbiage. His next letter (Document VI) was also a "resignation," but he appears to have thought better of himself for his next letter tells of his trip to California (Document VII).

Gasquet was detained in Mexico for some time. He lacked funds, and the Ambassador seems to have been in no great hurry to dispatch him to his far away post. Late in 1844, however, he set out, meeting with innumerable difficulties on the road, but finally arriving at San Diego on a little sailing vessel, the *Primavera*, on March 16, 1845, only to find himself in the midst of the civil war between Governor Micheltorena and the insurgents under Pio Pico. He proceeded to San Pedro where he met the defeated Governor on board *Le Quichote* en route to Mexico. Gasquet then visited Los Angeles and delivered his orders from the Mexican Government. There, as well as at Santa Barbara and at Monterey (where he arrived on May first), he received "a distinguished welcome" (Document VIII).

On June 15, 1845, he wrote to Guizot that the Californians had set up an independent government and would throw themselves into the hands of a foreign power if Mexico again sought more than a merely nominal control. Gasquet pleaded for instructions and deplored the lack of a French naval force in the Pacific. To have California fall into the hands of England or the United States would, he thought, be a calamity and a set-back to French influence (Document VIII). The designs of the "North Americans" particularly roused his fears, and in this and each succeeding letter Gasquet urgently requested specific

instructions, and also repeatedly urged the visit to Monterey of a French war vessel. None of these requests appears to have moved the Foreign Office to action. Indeed, so far as the writer has been able to discover, the Foreign Office replied to but one of Gasquet's numerous letters (see Document XII), and instead of instructions merely warned him not to interfere with the internal affairs of the country, but to keep the Foreign Office and the French legation at Mexico City informed of events there of importance to France.

As early as April 26, 1845, the King appointed J. A. Moerenhaut, formerly French consular agent in the Society Islands, as consul of the second class at Monterey, and Gasquet was directed to turn over the service to him upon his arrival, and to call to his attention the meagre instructions which had been transmitted.

Gasquet repeatedly warned his government of the possibility that California would be lost to Mexico, and deplored its inevitable acquisition by the United States. He sincerely desired to obtain the territory for France, and wished for a French naval force, if only to counteract the influence and designs of the United States and Great Britain, both of which kept naval vessels in the Pacific (Documents XIV, XVIII, XXII).

As soon as he learned of Moerenhaut's appointment, Gasquet again resigned from the office of Chancellor and entreated his government to accord him the sum of fifteen thousand francs to effect his return to France. "A refusal," he wrote, "would condemn me to die in exile, far from family affections and in the most complete destitution" (Document XIX).

Meanwhile events were moving toward the inevitable clash between the United States and Mexico, and when the American forces occupied Monterey Gasquet appears to have considered himself above any recognition of the new regime's legality. His dispatches numbered seventeen and eighteen seem to have been lost, but number nineteen (Document XXIII) summarizes the situation as he saw it. Apparently he objected to almost every act of the invaders, and refused to recognize any authority in either Sloat or Stockton.³

He was particularly incensed at the action of the Americans in placing a sentry before his house,⁴ but he was accused of being an active and violent enemy of the "present government," and at the time was using his office in behalf of two Frenchmen, De Leyssègues and Cambuston, to whom reference will later be made. On July 25th Commodore Stockton ordered Gasquet to leave Monterey within forty-eight hours or be imprisoned, at the same time decreeing that no one should be allowed to leave Monterey during the same period. The Americans also accused Gasquet of being in communication with Castro.

Gasquet denied this and wrote excitedly that "the dignity of France exacts a public reparation," characterizing Stockton as a man of violent and impetuous nature, uneducated, disreputable, walking about armed to the teeth, a man of large fortune who supposed that anything could be bought for money, "one of those persons who walks straight ahead with eyes closed, and who stops only when he bumps his head into some obstacle."

Gasquet continued frantically to plead for action on the part of France, to whom, he fervently believed, this territory should rightfully belong. The French, said he, were well liked there, and only the absence of a French war vessel prevented the native "Junta" from calling upon that country for a protectorate. He praised the country and predicted that it would become the seat of a great empire. All his plans, it seems, had been upset by this damnable American mess, and when, on September 16, he was finally released from his virtual imprisonment of fifty-one "well counted and very long" days he furiously denounced this scandalous outrage against the dignity and honor of France and asked his government to demand a "glorious reparation"⁵ (Documents XXV, XXVII).

Moerenhaut now arrived, and Gasquet staged a comic-opera quarrel over precedence with Captain de Bouzet of the *Brillante*, a small French war vessel which had brought the new consul. Gasquet would not go aboard the ship to call upon the Captain, and the latter would not make the first visit to him, so Gasquet went unvisited, a fact which he deplored as indicating that not only Stockton but his own countrymen would not recognize his authority (Documents XXVIII and XXIX).

All things considered, Gasquet seems to have been most ineffective. He made some inquiries respecting a fight between some of Micheltorena's "Cholos" and the men of the French whaler *Angelina*,⁶ and he made an effort to recover certain deserters from the *Héroïne*. He also invoked his consular authority on behalf of one Henri Cambuston, a teacher, who, at a ball at the home of Dr. Stokes, became involved in a serious quarrel with Prefect Castro of Monterey, and struck one Captain Narvez, a friend of Castro. When the latter sought to arrest him, Cambuston refused to recognize his authority, on the ground that Castro was not of legal age for the post of Prefect. He was, however, imprisoned, and a successor was put in his place in the school. The Alcalde and Governor ruled that both parties should be reprimanded, but meanwhile Gasquet had demanded Cambuston's release. The Comandante General Castro, however, refused to interfere with a political matter properly under Governor Pio Pico's control, and on March 9 the Governor wrote both to Prefect Castro and to Gasquet in an effort to hush up the affair.⁷ Cambuston's later arrest as a spy by Commodore Sloat roused Gasquet to further action, and he thought an indemnity should be demanded for this action.⁸

The affair of Olivier de Leyssègues also caused the consul considerable difficulty. The Americans had forbidden the sale of brandy in Monterey and Leyssègues' liquor was seized for a violation of this regulation. He refused an offer of compensation, and persuaded Gasquet to request the Foreign Office to ask a large indemnity. Ambassador Pageot, however, was more practical, and declared that since Leyssègues had suffered no loss save his liquor it would be folly to demand an indemnity.⁹

Gasquet's arrest and virtual imprisonment was the occasion of a certain amount of diplomatic correspondence. Guizot asked Pageot to investigate, which he did. Owing to Stockton's political position and activities, however, nothing

was done. Sloat's explanation was forwarded to Pageot, and others were promised. These complaints, and certain later ones of Moerenhaut respecting the conduct of Frémont's men, finally persuaded the President to ask the military authorities to pursue a more conciliatory course in their intercourse with French subjects and the French Consul in California, and to manifest the desire which he (the President) entertained "to cultivate the most amicable relations with a nation to which we are bound by so many ties of friendship."¹⁰

Secretary Buchanan's reply to Pageot stated that Commodore Sloat flatly denied the charge of misconduct preferred against him by Gasquet. "It is to be regretted," wrote Buchanan to Pageot, "that the acting Consul of France so far forgot his duty and the relations of cordial amity existing between the two Governments as to have officially protested against Commodore Sloat for having taken possession of California in the exercise of the rights of war. This act, with the subsequent unfriendly conduct of M. Gasquet, was well calculated to induce French subjects in that remote region to believe that they would be acting in conformity with the wishes of their own government in taking part with the enemy. Such an impression may have given rise to the exceptional proceedings of M. Cambuston; and I am gratified that the manner in which he was treated by Commodore Sloat was so mild and forbearing."¹¹

Gasquet appears to have been a person who thought a great deal about himself, and whose consular status gave him leisure to think even more about himself. He lacked diplomatic skill or finesse, even to the point of being obnoxious to other officials at times. He was punctilious and demanded a strict adherence to the letter of the law, but lacked common sense. He was superseded in the capacity as Consul of France by Moerenhaut, who arrived in California in October, 1846. We have already spoken of the opera bouffe in which Gasquet took part on the arrival of the *Brillante*. Moerenhaut's first official letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs tells the story.

"Upon our arrival at Monterey, the Commander, desiring to communicate as quickly as possible with M. Gasquet, sent an officer ashore to announce his arrival, and to notify him a boat would be at his orders when he wanted to come aboard. The officer added that I was on board the corvette. Having asked whether the commander of the *Brillante* was a 'full Captain,' [he] declared that he would not go on board and that M. de Bouzet, being merely a corvette captain, owed him the first visit. He added that, 'as for M. Moerenhaut, I am ready to turn over the consulate to him, but I do not owe him a visit.'

"This unfortunate punctiliousness put delay and coolness into the communications; for the commandant, primarily displeased because the reply of M. Gasquet had been verbal and had been made in [the] presence of two foreigners, believed himself likewise to be within his right in view of the fact that M. Gasquet had been designated in the instructions of Admiral Hamelin as consular agent. As for myself, believing that I could not stop at such puerile pretensions, I went to M. Gasquet's the next day, and having taken lodgings on shore, I so managed that, four days after our arrival, the commandant and M. Gasquet met

at my place. This brought about a friendly explanation, following which M. de Gasquet went on board — a step which did away with all appearance of misunderstanding between the commandant and the French agent."¹²

Gasquet did not immediately leave California upon handing over his office to Moerenhaut. In fact, he remained for more than a year after that event, and continued to send long accounts of California conditions and occurrences to the Foreign Office, writing as ex Gérant of the Consulate (Documents XXIX and XXXI). He was unable to obtain passage on the British schooner *William*, the first vessel to leave California directly for Mexico after the departure of the *Brillante*, and he remarks: "I only have hope in the return of a French war vessel; but my God! when will I be allowed to see one arrive?" (Document XXXI).¹³

He was finally able to get away by taking passage on a small schooner, the *Santa Cruz*, bound for San José del Cabo on the tip end of Lower California, where an American force was then stationed. Again he encountered many difficulties, (Document XXXII). Inept and ineffectual as he was, Gasquet was also a bit unlucky. He was no doubt trying his best to get back to France, half way around the world, and his tribulations cannot entirely be blamed upon him.

Thus our information concerning Gasquet comes to an end. Just how he effected his return to France and just when he arrived we do not know. That he did arrive is, however, certain, for on February 3, 1849, he addressed a letter from Paris to the Foreign Minister, Drouyn d'Lhuys, in which he urged the government of France to take steps to moderate the movement of emigration to California caused by the discovery of gold, and to restrain, but not prevent, commercial ventures to that country (Document XXXIII). With this letter the strange and slightly pathetic figure of Louis Gasquet fades from the scene.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

¹ The documents here published have been given serial numbers according to their chronological order, and will be cited by such numbers.

² Departmental State Papers; Benicia, I, 55-56. MS. Bancroft Library. Moerenhaut stated that Gasquet was acting as Consular Agent on instructions from Admiral Hamelin. Moerenhaut to Guizot, October 6, 1846, Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 36, folio 274. In 1847 James Buchanan stated that Gasquet was "Acting Consul." Buchanan to Pageot, Washington, July 16, 1847. State Department, Notes to: France, Vol. VI, printed in Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, VII, 366.

³ "I am told that Captain Sloat had some difficulty [with] the French Consul in Monterey. I doubt it being of much importance or you would have mentioned it in your last, although some people here are trying to talk the affair into something of great consequence." (Atherton to Larkin, Valparaíso, December 13, 1846. Larkin, "Documentos para la Historia de California," IV, 346—MS. Bancroft Library.)

⁴ Larkin wrote of this incident to Capt. Mervine as follows (No. 138, Larkin, Official Correspondence, I, 107; MS. Bancroft Library):

Consulate of the United States of America,
Monterey, California, July 16, 1846.

Sir:

In answer to your enquiries relative to the transaction in front of the house of the French Consul on the morning of the eleventh, I have to say that about — [blank] o'clock that morning, Captain Page of the *Levant* met me in the street and informed me he was looking for an interpreter to call on the French Consul and requested my company for that purpose, on our arrival within fifty yards of the house of the latter, we were met by him, who requested an explanation concerning

the placing of a sentinel near his house. He was informed by Captain Page that the Sentinels had been doubled that morning to catch a man who in company with eight or ten others, had robbed Commodore Sloat's courier that night, and that the robber had said he was carrying letters for the French Consul, at the moment Don Rafael Sanchez came towards the Consul's door, when the sentinel beckoned to him to retire, the consul enquired if persons were forbid entering his house: Captain Page directly answered, by no means, and I at the moment told Sen. Sanchez he was not forbid to enter, and to go in if he saw fit, he and the Consul then proceeded towards the door, and Captain Page and myself retired from the place, the sentinel and others from different points, were within an hour or so, called in.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

[Signed] THOMAS O. LARKIN.

⁵ On April 30, 1847, Pageot, the French Minister at Washington, wrote informally to Secretary of State Buchanan as follows (State Department; Notes from France, Vol. XIII):

At the time that Commodore Sloat, commander of the naval forces of the United States in the Pacific, took possession of California, in consequence of the hostilities that had broken out between Mexico and the United States, the acting Consul of France, at Monterey, M. Gasquet, thought proper to protest against this act of Commodore Sloat. A correspondence of an unpleasant character between the Commodore and the acting Consul, sprung out of this protestation.

A short time later, Commodore Stockton superseded Commodore Sloat, in the command of the American naval forces in the Pacific: the correspondence between his predecessor and the acting Consul was submitted to him, and he immediately wrote to the latter that, in consequence of the insolent language he had used towards Commodore Sloat, he ceased to recognize him as the Representative of the French Government, and ordered him to leave the city in twenty-four hours, under penalty of being arrested and imprisoned; on the refusal of the acting Consul to comply with the injunction the Commodore assigned him to his own house as a prisoner, wherein he remained the space of fifty days, at the end of which he was released.

Simultaneously to this occurrence, a French citizen by the name of *Cambuston* was arrested by the order of the American Commander, on the charge of being engaged with the enemy, against the authority of the United States. He was taken on board the frigate *Savannah*, and after a preliminary examination, was delivered over to the Alcalde of Monterey, who sentenced him to a fine of twenty dollars.

Another French subject, by the name of *Oliver*, who kept a grocery store, where spirituous liquors were found, was subjected to the seizure and destruction of these liquors, on the ground that a recent police regulation had prohibited their sale. On his proving that he had not offered any for sale since the publication of the regulation, the Commodore promised him an indemnity, for his loss, but refused to pay it over to him, unless he came, in person, on board of the *Savannah* to receive it.

On June 2, 1847, Commodore Sloat transmitted to John Appleton, Acting Secretary of the Navy, a full account of the affair, and a copy was sent to Pageot on the 16th. Sloat's statement follows (State Department; Notes to France, Vol. VI. See Moore, *Works of Buchanan*, VII, 366 for covering letter):

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 29th, ult. with its enclosure. In reply I have to state that no "unpleasant correspondence" occurred between the acting French Consul at Monterey and myself, in consequence of his protesting against my taking possession of California. A correspondence of that character however, did take place respecting the apprehension and detention of a Frenchman, named *Cambuston*, who, some days after I took possession, joined a Mexican officer and his party, and left Monterey to join General Castro.

A few miles from Monterey they seized Augustine Escobar, a native farmer, at his house, tied him, and abused him in a shameful manner. *Cambuston* held a loaded pistol in his hand, threatening him, while the party robbed him of his rifle, pistols, ammunition, money, and several horses. All this was proved by the affidavit of Escobar, who is a respectable man, known to all the American and English residents of Monterey.

Cambuston went with his party and joined Generals Pico and Castro at Santa Barbara. They, knowing his character, availed themselves of his services, and sent him back ostensibly to deliver a letter to me from General Pico, which letter was not of the least consequence, and was merely a cover to enable him to bring communications to their friends. He came into town stealthily at night on foot, and

succeeded in avoiding our sentinels, and delivered his despatches, said to have come under cover to the French Consul, soon after which he was made prisoner.

He did not deliver the letter for me until two or three days subsequent, when he had become alarmed, fearing he was to be treated as a spy. I did not, however, think it advisable to proceed against him as such, being desirous to avoid any difficulty with the French Consul, knowing he was disposed to be troublesome. I therefore concluded to turn him [Cambuston] over to the civil authorities, to be tried for robbery and maltreatment of a citizen. The alcalde immediately admitted him to bail. Out of the above occurrence, and the seizure by Captain Mervine (who commanded the town) of about two gallons of liquor of another French subject by the name of Oliver, who had opened a *grog-shop* [not a grocery store] within a few yards of the quarters of our men, contrary to an ordinance posted up about the town.

It so happened that shortly after the latter occurrence, I was on shore and met the acting French Consul for the first time at Captain Mervine's quarters, where the circumstances were inquired into, in his presence. Oliver denied having sold any liquor, but admitted it was exhibited in his shop. Captain Mervine had discovered it immediately after his doors were opened, and before he had had an opportunity to dispose of any. He was extremely insolent to Captain Mervine, who was confident he would furnish it to his men if he had an opportunity; he therefore directed it to be emptied on the sand. No indemnity was promised him by me. All that was said was that if his future conduct was unexceptionable, I would take his case into consideration; nor was he ever required or asked to come on board the *Savannah* to be paid. The truth is, the acting French Consul was extremely inimical to us, and was also extremely discourteous (indeed I might use much stronger terms) in his communications to me, which, however, I took no notice of, except by discontinuing the correspondence. At this time I transferred the command to Commodore Stockton, with copies of all the correspondence. From the course the Consul had pursued since my arrival at Monterey, the Commodore considered it necessary for our safety, and to prevent further difficulties, to direct him to retire some distance in the country, giving him forty-eight hours to remove, with which he refused to comply. At the end of the time, the Commodore confined him to his house. I have the correspondence so far as it was entered into by me, and the affidavit of the farmer Augustine Escobar, and can furnish the Department with it if desired; indeed, I am anxious that the Government should fully understand the course I pursued towards that troublesome functionary.

I return, herewith, the memorandum as requested; and have the honor to be, very respectfully, Your obedient servant, etc., etc.,

[Signed] JOHN D. SLOAT.

⁶ Concerning the *Angelina* affair see the following:

Larkin to Secretary of State, July 10, 1845. Larkin, "Official Correspondence" II, 25-27. MS. Bancroft Library.

Lataillade to Rafael Pinto, Santa Barbara, March 28, 1845. Pinto, "Documentos para la Historia de California" II, 126. MS. Bancroft Library.

Gasquet to Alvarado, Monterey, July 18, 1845, in Vallejo, "Documentos para la Historia de California" XXXIV, 144. MS. in Bancroft Library.

Cyprey to Guizot number 302, January 24, 1845. Hyenne to Consul General of France at Mexico, two letters. Doctor's certificate as to the condition of the wounded men.

Min. des Aff. Etr. to Min. de la Marine, Paris, February 14, 1845. Min. de la Marine to Min. des Aff. Etr., Feb. 18 and Feb. 19, 1845. Extracts from Lecoq's report.

Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 30, folios 207-232 *verso* and Vol. 31, folios 187-189. T. H. Hittell, gives account of the affair in *History of California*, II, 336-337 which is based on A. M. Osio, "Historia de la California," 439-442, MS. Bancroft Library.

Lataillade, the Spanish Consul, wrote to Rafael Pinto on March 28, 1845, that Gasquet arrived "con el objecto de reclamar fuertement contra el General Micheltorena, esperandose de un momento p^a otro, un buque de guerra para apoyar dhos. reclamos. La lastima es que no haya llegada un mes antes." *Op cit.*

An account of the affair written by a person actually present in Monterey at the time was sent to the British Consul at Tepic and was transmitted to the Earl of Aberdeen by Ambassador Bankhead (Bankhead to Aberdeen, number 109, Mexico, December 3, 1844, Public Record Office, F. O. 50/177).

See also Barron to Aberdeen, H. M. Ship *Thelia*, Mazatlan, May 28, 1845, and enclosures, *ibid.*, 50/189.

⁷ Documentary evidence concerning this as given by Bancroft (*op. cit.* V, 34) is as follows:

Proceso de Cambuston and other relative documents, "Departmental State Papers: Benicia, Prefectura y Juzgado," II, 2-8.

Rafael Sanchez to Pico, Monterey, March 2, 1846, and Pico to Gasquet, Angeles, March 9, 1846. Departmental State Papers, VII, 107, 111.

Gasquet to Castro, Monterey, January 18, 1845 (Document XVI).

Castro to Gasquet, Monterey, January 19, 1846 (Document XVII).

Dias to Prefect, Monterey, January 21, 1846.

Draft to Castro, Monterey, January 27 (or 29) 1849, all in "Documentos para la Historia de California," III, 57, 64, 68, 91.

Castro to Pico, Monterey, March 26, 1846, *ibid.*, I, 497.

Sumaria contra Enrique Cambuston, Monterey, January 21, 1846, together with decrees of Castro and Juez Escamilla. Castro, "Documentos para la Historia de California," I, 293-303.

Pico to Castro, Angeles, March 10, 1846. Fernandez, "Documentos para la Historia de California," 61-63.

All MSS. in Bancroft Library.

Cambuston was fined \$100 [francs?] and was removed from his position as principal of the primary school (on the ground of disobedience to Castro's authority).

⁸ With respect to Cambuston's difficulty with the American Minister, Pageot informed the Foreign Office that the United States would allege him to have been caught in communication with the enemy and interfering with the new régime in California, the Alcalde having also issued a writ against him for some crime. Cambuston is stated by Bancroft (II, 740) to have been "a man of some ability, but often in trouble on account of intemperate habits." He died in the Stockton Insane Asylum.

⁹ Pageot to Guizot, number 174, Washington, May 7, 1847. Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Etats-Unis, Vol. 103, folios 91-96.

¹⁰ Moerenhaut to Guizot, Monterey, October 6, 1846. Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 36, folios 271ff. Buchanan to Pageot; Washington, July 16, 1846. State Department, Notes to France, Vol. VI. Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, VII, 366.

Pageot to Guizot, number 174. Washington, May 7, 1847, Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Etats-Unis, Vol. 103, folios 91-96.

Buchanan to Pageot, Washington, July 16, 1846, *op. cit.* Sloat to Appleton, June 2, 1846. State Department, Notes from France, Vol. XIII.

Buchanan to Pageot, Washington, July 21, 1847. State Department, Notes to France, Vol. VI; printed in Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, VII, 372-3.

¹¹ Buchanan to Pageot, Washington, July 16, 1847. State Department, Notes to France, Vol. VI. Published in Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, VII, 366-367.

¹² Moerenhaut to Guizot, Monterey, October 6, 1846. Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol., Mexique, Vol. 36, folios 271 *et seq.*

¹³ Long before this the Minister of Foreign Affairs had received Gasquet's letter in which he tendered his resignation, and asked for ten thousand francs with which to effect his return to France (Document XXXIII). On the last day of November, 1846, the Minister wrote Consul Moerenhaut that the Foreign Office could not accord return expenses to an agent who voluntarily left his post — but in case Gasquet should still insist upon resigning his post as acting consul, Moerenhaut might advise him that he could utilize a vessel of the Royal Navy to effect his return to France. Presumably after receiving the several letters in which Gasquet tendered his resignation, and expressed his desire to return to France, the Foreign Minister changed his decision, and on June 30, 1847, wrote Moerenhaut that he was according to Gasquet a vacation in order to allow him to return to France, and that the Department would bear the expenses of his return trip to France. (Minister to Moerenhaut, number 3, Paris, November 30, 1846; and number 5, Paris, June 30, 1847. Aff. Etr., Box Monterey.)

THE GASQUET DOCUMENTS

FOREWORD

The succeeding documents were in almost all instances taken from a "Box dedicated to the Consulate at Monterey" (hereinafter cited as "Box Monterey") which is to be found in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. It belongs to the series designated "*Correspondance Consulaires*," and is not open to the public, but through the kindness and aid of Monsieur Abel Doysié and of the Director of the Archives, M. Rigoult, the writer was enabled to see and to have copied the entire contents of the box. Undoubtedly there are other such boxes in the archives of the Foreign Office which have as yet not even been thus opened to the scrutiny of scholars. It was thought best to add here the few documents written by or to Gasquet which are found in other repositories of documents. In the Bancroft Library the translator found a few letters, and undoubtedly there are further letters of Gasquet in the War Department archives at Washington. These, however, the present editor has not seen.

In translating these documents the original text has been followed closely. Accuracy and as near a word-for-word translation as possible were the guiding motives. The events mentioned in them are chronicled in general outline in almost every standard text on California history. For that reason, and because there are many good histories of California, the editor has deemed it advisable to keep at a minimum his editorial annotation, and to allow the documents themselves to tell the story. The editorial work, therefore, has for all practical purposes been limited to the citation of pertinent passages from Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of California* (seven volumes, San Francisco, 1884-89).

I

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO M. BOSSERONS [BOSSERONT?], CONSUL AT
MONTEREY, ACTING CONSUL OF FRANCE AT SANTANDER

(Box Monterey; Minutes)

[Paris] Nov. 3, 1842

I have the honor to advise you, Monsieur, that upon my proposal and by ordinance of the twenty-eighth of October, last, the King has named M. Gasquet, Chancellor of the Consulate of Monterey.

An ordinance of the twelfth of the same month has, moreover, doubled for the *Chancellerie* of Monterey the minimum of annual remittance assigned to Chancellors from the common Consular *Chancellerie* fund by Article Two of the Royal ordinance of the twenty-fourth of August, 1833.

I do not doubt, Monsieur, that you have sent me satisfactory reports concerning the conduct and zeal of Mr. Gasquet.

Receive, etc.

II

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO M. GASQUET, CHANCELLOR OF THE
CONSULATE OF FRANCE AT MONTEREY, NOW IN PARIS

(Box Monterey; Minutes)

[Paris] May 5, 1843

I have decided, Monsieur, that you should take the provisional management of the Consulate of France at Monterey in California, whose incumbent, M. Bosseront[?], is himself charged *ad interim* with the affairs of the Consulate at Santander.

You will go first to Mexico in order to give to the Royal Minister to the Mexican government the enclosed letter by which I invite him to ask for you from that government authorization to exercise the function of Consul of France at Monterey until the arrival of the incumbent.

You will justify, I do not doubt, Monsieur, by the utility of your services this testimony of confidence which it pleases me to give you.

Receive, etc.

III

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO M. BARRIÈRE, CONSUL AT MONTEREY,
NOW IN PARIS

(Box Monterey; Minutes)

[Paris] July 27, 1843

I have the honor of telling you, Monsieur, that upon my proposition and by ordinance of the twenty-fifth of this month, His Majesty has named you his Consul at Monterey.

You will endeavor, I do not doubt, to justify by the utility of your labors, this new testimony of the confidence of His Majesty.

The interest of the service requires moreover, that you go immediately to your destination.

Receive, etc.

IV

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO M. GASQUET, ACTING CONSUL OF FRANCE
AT MONTEREY

(Box Monterey; Minutes; Number 1)

[Paris] 27 July, 1843

I have the honor of telling you, Monsieur, that the King upon my proposal, by the ordinance of the twenty-fifth of this month, has named M. Barrière, Consul of the second class at Santo Domingo, his Consul at Monterey, to replace M. Bosseront, called to other functions.

You will please turn over the office to B. Barrière, in the form prescribed by the rules (and present him to the local authorities as the incumbent of the Consulate at Monterey)¹

Receive, etc.

¹ In the original that which appears in parenthesis has been crossed out.

V

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence of M. Gasquet; Dossier "Depêches";
[no month or day] 1843. Received at Paris, July 4, 1844.)

Mexico,, 1843.

Monsieur le Ministre:

After having written you officially in order to paint for you my situation, as well as the difficulties and the obstacles which have arrested me in Mexico, may I be permitted to address to you, to you personally, Monsieur le Ministre, and in particular, the reflections which have been inspired in me by a more exact and more detailed knowledge of the country to which I have been sent. I am well acquainted with the facts. This knowledge has come to me from several sources, among which there are some which merit entire confidence. I have gathered all the statements, all the information; I have compared them; and if by this work I have been led to throw out some evidently tinged with exaggeration, and even with falsehood, it remained clear to me that the major part was true and that it would serve as a basis of sound appreciation and sure judgment. I am not at all moved by any view of personal interest; Your Excellency will believe me on that score without difficulty, since I shall probably not be called to the Consulate of Monterey, and since it would be impossible to establish myself and live there on the salary of chancellor. I have wished to know the truth and to speak it in order to avoid for the administration errors for which its agents would have cruelly to suffer. I enter into the matter.

The white population: the population which works, which does business, which trades in the Californias, is weak, numerically speaking, more weak by its spreading over a wide expanse of shoreline. The largest communities do not reach five hundred souls. It [the population] is surrounded with Indians, foreigners, Americans principally; the French are an imperceptible fraction. Since the revolution which brought independence, the Missions, which possessed immense territories; which cultivated them; which had succeeded in peopling them with great herds of cattle and horses; which had gathered to themselves numbers of Indians to whom was already coming love of work and of a settled life: the Missions, I say, are ruined, the herds considerably reduced, and the Indians have returned to their woods and to savage life. The magnificent properties are deserted and could be sold, if buyers could be found, for a piece of bread. Commerce is nearly nothing; specie is barely known there, which makes planting difficult and uncertain. Means of exchange are not lacking but infinite time is necessary to find them and to collect them. A ship leaving from Europe for the Californias laden with merchandise suited to the needs and the tastes of the Californians could hardly effect its return within three years. You understand that it would be necessary to make great profits in order to support the expenses and the interest that such an operation would cost. In order to lessen the difficulties, the shippers would have to establish offices [*comptoirs*] directed by intelligent agents, active and honest, who would be charged with the sale of

the imported merchandise and with the purchase of the cargoes for the return. Being on the spot, they would have, between the out and in voyages of the ship, sufficient time in which to buy and to collect these cargoes [*matières*]. Unfortunately, our fellow citizens are not very adventurous, they are generally lacking in capital, the spirit of association which could annul these obstacles is not in their character. On the other hand, the poverty of the country, the weakness of the population, and the taste of the Indians for an independent life will oppose for long years the development of needs such as would be necessary to serve as a basis for European industry to such an extent that I strongly doubt whether for a long time it would establish between these countries and France commercial relations of any importance.

The villages [*bourgades*], which they have decorated with names of cities, Monterey among others, are an assemblage of wooden houses badly scattered, badly kept, and very dirty with the exception of some habitations which belong to Americans or rich Englishmen. The furniture is shabby and most often lacks articles of ordinary comfort. At Monterey your agent will find only two or three houses to choose from for passable lodging. And it will still be necessary that one of them be free to rent. Let us suppose that he finds one of them, he will pay a very high price for it, at least five hundred *piastres*, and he will only be able to install himself there after having made costly repairs and changes. He will be obliged to furnish it, and as the agent who will represent France and will be called upon to receive the authorities and influential men of the country as well as the officers of the Royal Marine who will come into these quarters, he cannot content himself with the more than simple furniture of the Californians. He will have to bring complete furnishings from Paris. I say from Paris, for if he wished to buy them here, the same furniture would cost him four or five times as much. And moreover, must we not take into consideration the position of this agent? Relegated to the end of the earth in a paltry town which offers no resource against boredom, deprived of the joys of the family, what would remain to him if he did not have pleasant quarters where he might find in his comfort a compensation for his isolation? He will be obliged to hire at least two house servants and even then he will be badly served, and robbed in the bargain. The Indians are not adaptable to different tasks (*gens a tout faire*). They believe in the division of labor; that is why I say that he (the agent) will require at least two servants. He will pay them forty *piastres* a month, which will amount to five hundred *piastres* a year. His daily expense will be more than two *piastres*, about eight hundred (per year); washing, one hundred *piastres*; keeping his linen and wardrobe in repair, two hundred; expense of two horses and hunting, two hundred; excursions into the country, two hundred; dinner and reception invitations from the local authorities and officers of the Royal Marine, two hundred; making a total of 2700 *piastres*, which reduced to francs makes the sum of 14,580 francs — — —²

² Gasquet generally reckoned a *piastre* as the equivalent of approximately five francs. By that calculation 2700 *piastres* would amount to 13,500 francs. There are some dashes in the original.

In this evaluation which I have reduced to the simplest expression, the loss occasioned by the negotiation of drafts on Paris is not entered, a loss which will be from twenty to twenty-five per cent. If the treasury does not take into account this loss, Monsieur le Ministre, the Consul, for whom the stipend is fixed at 15,000 francs, will actually receive, after having deducted the reserve for the drafts, only a little less than 11,000 francs, taking the most favorable hypothesis. He will have, then, every year a deficit of at least 3500 francs. The deficit would become greater if the Consul were married, whether he had his family with him, or if he had to send them help. It remains proven to Your Excellency, by what has preceded, that the emoluments of this officer are insufficient; that it is necessary to augment them in a proportion which permits him to give lustre and merit to his functions, to provide honorably for his maintenance and that of his family, to surround himself with comfortable possessions which will make tolerable the pangs of absence and distance, the privations of the sweetness of French society and especially the affectionate sentiments which make for happiness.

The position of chancellor with four thousand francs salary will be very precarious and it will suit only a young man who is just beginning his consular career, as a novitiate with the right to reach the consulship. I doubt, with the present conditions of existence of these officers, whether it will be easy to find someone who will consent to go and live in a state bordering on indigence, in a village situated at the ends of the earth. The exclusion which smites them is unjust in every respect. In general, they have the same instructions as the consuls whose functions they often exercise. They have by long residence learned the language of the country, the details of the administration, the needs of commerce and its benefits, knowledge of international affairs to a higher degree than the student consuls or the employees of the Minister who have not left France. It seems to me, and in this many men well situated to judge of these things share my opinion; it seems to me, I say, that the chancellors, if one were taking them from among the educated and capable young men, ought to be called to fill the unexpected vacancies in the consulates. Believe me, Monsieur le Ministre, because it is the truth, many very honorable men, who have wide experience concerning these affairs, deplore the present state of things, and call by all their vows for the revision and the recasting of consular regulations. In my case, a chancellor would not know how to establish himself at Monterey if they did not accord him for expenses of first establishment a sum of 4000 francs.

Pardon me for these details and digressions, Monsieur le Ministre; they were necessary to the development of my thought. May Your Excellency not hasten to conclude from what I have just had the honor of showing to you, that I do not approve the establishment of a Consulate at Monterey. It is not only useful, but even necessary; and more, it can become profitable to the interests of France if it is well directed.

California, upper California especially, forms a magnificent country all in the temperate zone, cut and watered by numerous streams of water, covered with

beautiful forests, with a vast extent of shorelines, and on its coasts, bays, gulfs, anchorages, and ports which offer shelter and sure retreat to the ships sailing in these seas, dominating, by their position, the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. How many advantages it possesses! And how quickly it would grow in the hands of one of the three great maritime powers of the world! Its soil, exempt from the maladies which decimate the European populations which go to establish themselves in other parts of the American continent, fit to receive all husbandry and pay plentifully [and] largely for the work of its possessors, would soon be covered with active, laboring, enterprising inhabitants. Its prosperity would renew the miracles of the Anglo-American prosperity, and in a half century this country would become a powerful auxiliary for the nation which had colonized it. California is so far from Mexico, the ties which bind them are so weak, the central government so occupied with its interior dissensions, so incapable of working to develop the elements of richness which it contains, that on the first occasion separation cannot fail to result. It will occur by the wish and the revolt of the Californians or even by conquest of California by the United States or by England, which have coveted it for a long time. This opinion is general among the Mexicans and among foreigners. The French established in Mexico, those especially who have traveled over one or the other of the Californias, who appreciate their importance as to position and market; the French preoccupy their minds with this question and dread to see the accomplishment of the ambitious projects of these two powers. They have been satisfied and in part reassured by the establishment of the Consulate of Monterey. They think that France has endeavored by this means to effect a hindrance to these plans, and they hope that, such chance occurring unexpectedly, she would well be able to assimilate this country either by conquest or by her protection. This would be, Monsieur le Ministre, a thing worthy of the government of His Majesty who would forever honor the ministers who would conceive and execute such a plan. France would wreath for them immortal crowns, and our descendants would glorify and bless their names. For I dare to affirm it, nothing more useful to the development of French power could be done. You see then, Monsieur le Ministre, that I am in favor of this Consulate, that I know the importance and purpose of it. I should have been happy and proud to be called there. May Your Excellency not find it astonishing that I lament the necessity which forces me to put it aside. It is so sweet and so fine to make oneself useful to his fatherland.

It is clear now that your agent whose mission will be nearly exclusively political must have the means to see and to attract to himself influential men, to flatter their vanity, to captivate their minds, [and] to turn their views and their hopes toward the government of His Majesty. He will succeed there if he has the qualities that bear out his rôle. It is to you, Monsieur le Ministre, that belongs the right to choose. May your choice fall upon a capable man, may your instructions guide him and direct him in the paths which it shall please Your Excellency to trace for him. I pray that he may carry his mission to a

good end, and I desire nothing so much as to see your name, already so great in the world, honored and glorified, in this cause, by all French people.

Now I have finished, Monsieur le Ministre. You may do with me whatever you judge proper. Whatever you may decide, I shall be none the less grateful and devoted to you for the rest of my life because of your kindness, which has been great. I beg you to believe that on the occasion of the new year I pray to Heaven for the happiness and the glory of Your Excellency. May you live many years, govern my country a long time, and when age shall sound the hour of your retreat, may you look with satisfaction on your past.

I have the honor of being with the profoundest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,
Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant

GASQUET

Acting Consul at Monterey.

VI

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches," triplicate)

Consulate of France at Monterey,
Mexico, September 27, 1844.

Monsieur le Ministre:

The insufficiency of the funds which were allowed me to get to Monterey and later the wish of M. le Baron de Cyprey have kept me here until the present. I have the honor of announcing to Your Excellency that since these reasons no longer exist, I shall, as soon as the roads permit, start out for my post.

Several occurrences of considerable gravity have taken place at Monterey which would have required the attention and care of the Consul and which fully justify the establishment of a Consulate in that locality. In the interest of the French subjects who have established themselves there or who trade there, of the whaling vessels which go there to replenish their supplies and their water, and in order to obey your orders, I am going there, Monsieur le Ministre, to administer the Consulate until the arrival of the incumbent. Despite the dangers, the privations, and the fatigue which await me during so long a journey, I do not wish to leave such considerable interests to suffer longer [for want of attention]. Above all, I did not wish it to be supposed that I was dominated by personal considerations.

But this duty filled, I take the liberty, Monsieur le Ministre, of placing again in your hands my resignation from the functions of Chancellor which you have seen fit to confer upon me. This position is placed by the regulations under such conditions that I could not accept it without compromising my future.

I have the honor of being with the most profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant

GASQUET.

VII

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO M. GASQUET, ACTING CONSUL OF FRANCE
AT MONTEREY (CALIFORNIA)

(Box Monterey; Minutes; Direction Commerciale. Sent Sept. [?] 30 via
Vera Cruz; Duplicate sent October 30.)

[Paris] June 6, 1845

I have the honor of telling you, Monsieur, that by the ordinance of the twenty-sixth of last April, the King has named M. Moerenhaut, formerly consular agent of France at the Society Islands, consul of the second class with residence at Monterey.

Consequently, you will kindly give over the office to M. Moerenhaut in the form prescribed by the rules.

Receive . . .

VIII

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Depêches,"
Direction Commerciale. Received Oct. 10, 1845; Answered Nov. 20, 1845.)

Consulate of France at Monterey
June 15, 1845

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor of informing Your Excellency that after five months and seven days of travel, I have finally arrived at my post. Having left Mexico the second of November, 1844, at four o'clock in the morning by stage coach, I arrived the twenty-ninth at San Juan de Los Lagos. I sojourned there fourteen days awaiting my effects, the delay of which caused me great uneasiness. Santa Anna, who was marching against Paredes, had ordered put into requisition near Queretaro, all the mules which were carrying merchandise to the market of San Juan. Mine were among this number. Already, upon my departure from Mexico, they had been detained by similar orders four or five days. I set out again by stage the thirteenth of December, and the evening of the fourteenth I arrived at Guadalajara. There, I found myself in the necessity of again awaiting my mules, which had this time been requisitioned by the orders of Paredes. At Guadalajara the stage line ends. I took some horses and servants, and on the second of January I left for Tepic where I arrived the seventh. I stayed there until the twentieth. I went to embark at San Blas. I had experienced so much fatigue on horseback that I believed I would be better off to travel by sea. The twenty-first of January I arrived at that port and immediately went on board the *Condor*, a merchant vessel, on which I had engaged my passage. And finally, after five days of sailing, we weighed anchor in the port of Mazatlan, a short distance from the *Lamproie*, a government vessel, sent there on a mission [of state].

Upon my arrival, I learned that the merchant ship called the *Primavera* was leaving for Upper California. I hastened to see M. Carlos Baric, her supercargo, and arranged with him for my passage. It was the first ship in eight months to leave for this destination. On this I congratulated myself, for I was longing to finish my travels and to take up again my settled habits which are to my taste and [appropriate] for my age. I was eager also to see the country where it was the will of my government that I should reside for a long time perhaps; to know the men among whom I was going to enter into new relations.

The *Primavera* set sail the fourteenth of February at eleven o'clock at night, and on the sixteenth of March after a very difficult voyage she touched at San Diego, the first port of Upper California. There we learned of the events which had put an end to the power of M. Micheltorena as well as the excesses of the soldiery with which he was surrounded.

By an agreement [*convention*] concluded the twenty-second of last February between M. Micheltorena, Governor of the Californias, and José Castro, Lieutenant Colonel in command of the Californias, the former returned the power into the hands of M. Pio Pico, President of the Departmental Assembly, and undertook to embark immediately with his company on a ship which was chartered by the Californian authorities for the destination of Mazatlan or San Blas.

In fact, in the bay of San Pedro where we cast anchor the second of April, was the ship, *le Quichote*, which carried M. Micheltorena, his staff, and his soldiers. From San Pedro, I went to the Pueblo of Los Angeles which is eight or nine leagues [*lieues*] inland. This village has become the Seat of the Government and the residence of the Governor. It has been made the capital of California.

I presented the exequatur which had been delivered to me by the Mexican government, to the provisional Governor. I received from him and from all the authorities a distinguished welcome. It was the same at Santa Barbara as well as at Monterey, where I arrived early in the month of May. Everywhere the people showed themselves happy to possess an agent of France. These manifestations were colored, perhaps, by the circumstances in the midst of which the country found itself; their spontaneity, their vivacity; perhaps they had another meaning, some idea of the future? However that may be, permit me, Monsieur le Ministre, to give you a rapid account of the causes of the revolution, and of its probable consequences.

Among the causes which provoked it, one should place in the first rank the excesses in which the Mexican soldiers daily indulged against the Californians whom it was their mission to defend. Monsieur Micheltorena, a man of little capacity and extreme weakness, did not dare or did not wish to bring to task these villains who were growing yet bolder in their impunity. Robberies, assaults, assassinations, were multiplying. It had reached such a point that many inhabitants had fled from Monterey seeking a refuge in the country; others, retained by their business, barricaded themselves in their houses as soon as night

fell; even in broad daylight women did not dare to venture into the streets. Foreigners were not spared, and among these the French were assailed by preference. Some deeds of an odious nature have taken place against the property and the life of several of our citizens without a single gesture on the part of M. Micheltorena toward the punishment of those who were notoriously guilty or had been pointed out to him by indisputable evidence.

Such a situation had become intolerable. The influential men of the country gathered together and decided upon the insurrectional movement which led, after an insignificant struggle, to the downfall of the Governor and his expulsion from Californian territory.

Today the country has changed in aspect. All is calm. Safety has returned to the cities. It is not the same in the countryside where bands of Indians or pretended Indians steal horses and cattle. Unfortunately the government is powerless to stop this brigandage. It does not dispose of any organized force. It possesses no financial resources. Pullings and haulings and dissension among the new authorities increase its impotence. Moreover, it is not without uneasiness about the resolutions which the Republic will take concerning California. It fears an expedition which would reestablish Mexican domination. It dreads that above all, and the men who provoked and sustained the revolution and carried it through to victory will throw themselves into the arms of foreigners rather than again assume the yoke which they have just shaken off.

Although complete separation underlies their hopes, they will respect the weak ties which attach them to Mexico on condition that the Republic content herself with a purely nominal domination. That is clearly apparent from their acts and their situation. One perceives, moreover, that they have no more use for a government which, far from seeking to develop the natural riches of the country, to create resources, to augment the population, only knows how to oppress it, one that would be unable to defend it against an outside attack if a war were to break out between Mexico and a foreign power.

The Mexican government knows these leanings. It shares itself the opinion that California will escape from it one day or another. More than once it has transpired publicly in Mexico that it wished by the cession of this province [*département*] to give itself a powerful ally and to restore its finances. I do not know how much truth there is in these rumors; what seems to me certain is that separation seems inevitable and perhaps hastened by present happenings.

Under these circumstances, I must say that I deplore, Monsieur le Ministre, finding myself without direction as to what course I should follow. I deplore also the absence of all naval force. Our navy has left a good impression on the population of Monterey, and the sight of one or two French vessels anchored in the bay would produce upon it an excellent moral effect.

Does Your Excellency not think that it is urgent to address to me most promptly precise instructions concerning the conduct which I should adhere to in case, [in] the struggle going on between Mexico and California, the latter,

at the end of its resources and for its salvation, should proclaim separation and invoke foreign protection?

Does Your Excellency not think that the probability of such circumstances merits the increase of the Pacific Ocean base and the sending of a respectable force to the coasts of Upper California?

Unfortunately, distances are so great that I may be overtaken by events a long time before your communications reach me. In order to prevent, in part, this inconvenience, I had the honor of writing, from Los Angeles, to Monsieur le Baron Alleye de Cyprey, Minister of the King to Mexico, in order to beg him to give me directions concerning this subject, which would take the place of ministerial instructions.

In the absence of all directions, if events were to press me, Monsieur le Ministre, I assure you that I should not remain inactive and that I should understand that all my proceedings should relate to the interest and the honor of France, without losing sight at any time of the conciliatory and pacific intentions of the government of the King. I would with deep grief, I confess to you, see this beautiful country pass under the domination of one of the two powers, which, for a long time, have been suspected of coveting its possession. I should consider this event very detrimental to the development of French influence in Oceania, and I would applaud any measure which might prevent its accomplishment.

Upper California possesses all the elements of a rich and powerful colony; its soil would lend itself to all cultures and its fertility is such that land sown to wheat produces eighty and a hundred for one. The air here is salubrious; one sees here none of the maladies which, on most of the American coasts, decimate the population and particularly the foreigners who come to establish themselves there. It would be easy to make European emigration flow in here, attracting it by a wise distribution of the immense areas which have no owners. In a short time its progress would be rapid and its needs would soon call for a great movement of navigation which would not be unfavorable to the maintenance and to the increase of a Military and Merchant Marine. Finally, its position and the extent of its coasts ought to assure to its possessors supremacy in these waters, while its possession might become a considerable source of riches and prosperity. These are the considerations, Monsieur le Ministre, which would make me ever regret the occupation of California by a rival nation or even by a friendly one. But I am convinced that the government of His Majesty will know, in its wise foresight, how to prevent the realization of similar projects and to preserve intact the field of action which belongs to France.

This, Monsieur le Ministre, has seemed to me so important as to require communication to you without delay. Pardon, I beg of you, the little order and connection which you find in this report. With more time before me; with a longer acquaintance I hope to do better. Kindly be indulgent; and if, as I fear, you find fault with the substance and the form of my ideas, please show them grace in consideration of my intentions which have always been good. I

shall try to keep you acquainted with all that might be of interest and I will transmit to you only information that is certain and which might be able to throw light upon the plans of the Government.

I shall have the honor of addressing to you soon, as soon as a more prolonged sojourn in this country enables me to do so, a report concerning the French who reside here and concerning the commerce that goes on here [and] which is now almost exclusively in the hands of the North Americans.

I have the honor of being, with profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant

GASQUET

Acting Consul of France at Monterey.³

IX.

GASQUET TO ALVARADO

(Vallejo, "Documentos para la Historia de California," XXXIV, 144, in French; also Spanish translation, certified by W. E. Hartnell, both in Bancroft Library.)

Monterey, July 18, 1845.

The undersigned, Acting Consul of France, has the honor of bringing to the attention of M. Alvarado, *Commandante-Générale, ad interim*, of the north of Upper California, that on the fourth of this month one Eymerlin, sailor of the third class, deserted from the *Héroïne*, corvette of His Majesty the King of the French, anchored on this shore, and that on the ninth of the same month his desertion was followed by that of La Motte (Francois) likewise a sailor of the third class.

The undersigned feels that M. *le Commandante-Générale* will gladly welcome this occasion to give proof to France of the good will and feelings which animate him in order to maintain in a friendly state the relations which exist between his government and that of the King, taking the most efficacious measures to bring about the speedy arrest of the two deserters.

The undersigned has the honor of offering to M. Alvarado the assurance of his great esteem.

GASQUET (rubric)

P. S. The two sailors are negroes and consequently very easy to recognize.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

³ Throughout this letter in the margin (at intervals) is the following ministerial notation: "Extract sent to Division des Fonds, October 29."

For events transpiring in California and referred to here (especially the revolt against Micheltorena which resulted in his being ousted with his "Cholos" from California) see Bancroft, IV, Chapters XX-XXI.

A TRIP TO THE MINING REGIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1859

"CALIFORNISCHER STAATS-KALENDER" IN THE LEAP YEAR
A.D. 1860*

By EDUARD VISCHER**

Translated from the German by Ruth Frey Axe

PREFACE

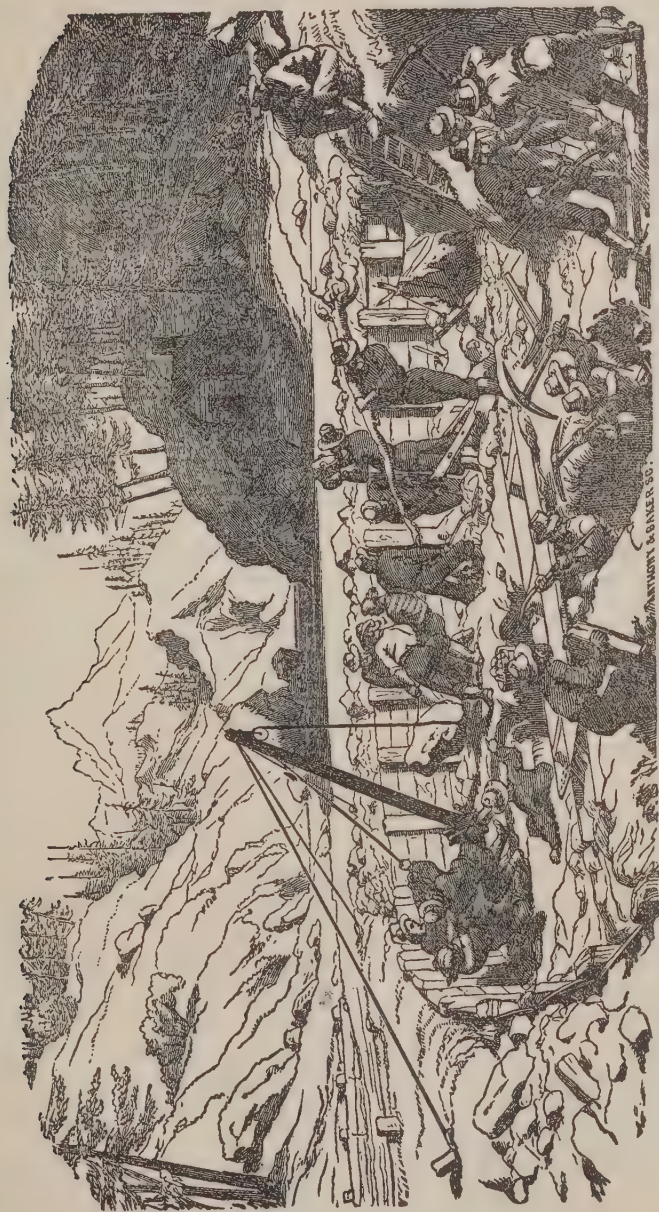
A FORTNIGHT'S TRIP through California's mining regions, devoted more to enjoyment than to a practical purpose, with much of that time taken up by many side trips, can afford the chance tourist at best but a superficial survey of the mining industry. A complete description could scarcely be properly made except by one who through desire or professional interest has toured the gold region repeatedly in all directions. By refreshing former impressions and comparing them with those of the present a rather complete picture of the gradual development of mining may be obtained. There has been an obvious transition from the individual, antlike activity of the gold seekers of the first period, who lived in tents or out in the open, to the better regulated system of the present-day mining population founded on a basis of labor cooperation. Present mining conditions probably hold less of objective interest to the tourist than did the nomadic adventurous life of former years. However, from a more practical view-point this transition to a permanent form is as undeniable as it is satisfying.

Many flourishing settlements have been founded in seemingly inaccessible wildernesses. Homesteads, many of which may be called real farms, have risen in almost every corner of the mining region that is fit for cultivation. All of this forms a pleasant contrast to the chaotic upheaval which generally characterizes most mining districts. The lives, activities, and aims of the mining population make an impression that is still more favorable. The workers follow their calling, although it is new to most of them, with the seriousness and constancy of pursuing their life goals. Now, they frequently found a domestic hearth. Family life, which is gaining more and more, adds to the single tent or log cabin a certain charm and comfort. Pleasant residences, surrounded by beautiful gardens which produce sufficient fruit for local use make up the suburbs of the larger mining towns.

The increased facilities of communication and [resultant] easier provisioning throughout the entire mining region are the more surprising because from a

*The only copy of the *Californischer Staats-Kalender* for 1860 known to the editors is that in the Huntington Library, permission to reproduce which—in translation—has courteously been accorded to this Society. It is a pamphlet of 36 pages.

** Edward Vischer (1809-1879) was a Bavarian who came first to California in 1842 and later, in 1849, settled in San Francisco. Although engaged in business as a commission merchant, he made many sketches of California scenes and published a number of reproductions of these sketches, beginning with his lithographs of the Mammoth Tree Grove (1862) and ending with his monumental *Pictorial of California* (1870). (See "Camels in the Sketches of Edward Vischer," by Francis P. Farquhar, *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, Vol. IX, No. 4, December, 1930, p. 332.)



WORKING OF THE RIVER BED, AFTER DAMMING UP THE RIVER, TO REACH BEDROCK

narrow strip of land it has in some directions expanded to three times its former width. In districts that were formerly never entered new traffic centers have been formed. This is more than sufficient to explain the apparent or real reduction in importance of former principal settlements. The life concentrated there before has found many new and different outlets.

The emigration during last year's gold rush up north [to Fraser River] resulted throughout the whole mining region in upheaval and changes in location. This was a disadvantage to some places, but in many others heightened activity richly made up for it.

The spring excursion I undertook was therefore of manifold interest. The introduction of new systems of labor had changed the type of the people as well as the physiognomy of whole regions. Exact accounts and data are so much more easily obtained nowadays that the gathering of such details has become a more satisfactory task than heretofore.

Several sketches have appeared recently, among which the *Alta California* excels in careful and well-chosen material from reliable sources. Frequently these articles supplement each other and thus afford a quite interesting general survey. *The Miner's Handbook*, published under the auspices of Hutchings & Rosenfield* also contains some very valuable technical information. These references and other data so zealously gathered and sifted, should be of interest even abroad, as they have been ratified and compared with individual observations right on the spot. Under such conditions it seemed appropriate to use geological, technical and statistical observations drawn from the *U. S. Surveys and Reports* (and other official sources) at least for correction and perfection of our own views, so as to gain clearness for this work.

Far from apologizing for the use of the sources mentioned we think that their inclusion is the chief merit of our attempt. For this reason, in writing of our trip the narrative part has dropped from its position as the main subject to the modest place of framework. Undoubtedly the humorous angle would have been improved by treatment from another pen. Although lightened somewhat by descriptions of natural scenery, the practical material of this article is so predominant and plentiful that airy excursions into the realm of hypotheses will be excluded.

The theory of gold formation is still unknown and will probably remain the philosophers' stone for the geologists of coming decades. The liberation of the precious metal from the surrounding rock by the natural effect of decomposition and disintegration is a fact too well known to be treated in all seriousness as a theory. The generally adopted supposition of considering quartz as the mother of gold deserves mention here only because we find in it the best guarantee that this golden wealth is inexhaustible.

It is granted that at this time California's alluvial gold treasure must be regarded as almost exhausted, because only here and there new tracts emerge from the previously worked-out locations, and also because the production of

* *The Miners' Own Book* . . . , San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1858.

river beds, banks and bars is diminishing from year to year. But the exploitation of the depths by hydraulic methods now used everywhere will offer a productive field for decades to come.

In many places considered exhausted new strata of gold were disclosed by the power of the water jets. Although a lessening of individual success may be unavoidable it does not mean at all that under more advantageous conditions and methods the gold region output as a whole is noticeably reduced, much less, completely exhausted.

The cooperative system of labor has called forth a new era in California's mining industry. Well-organized companies will be able to do work which would have been forever impossible for the individual. The working of veins containing quartz, that is quartz-mining, which formerly under a faulty and misdirected labor system devoured a great deal of capital notwithstanding the rich content in most of them, has been profitable only in exceptional cases. When methods are perfected and labor is cheaper it will become a profitable field for large enterprises. It is a well-known fact that the "tailings," residue of pulverized quartz from the first quartz mills, have produced more gold when worked over later than was originally obtained from working the quartz rock. This was repeated successively in many cases. In spite of the fact that present methods are highly perfected, the "tailings" formerly thrown away are kept now as material for future exploitation under new processes. The imperfect method of the first period was hardly sufficient to save the major portion of the free gold, while at the present time little is found which, even when mixed with other substances, cannot be amalgamated. Thus the sulphuret gravel containing gold found in so many mining regions and which still cannot be used may perhaps produce a surprising profit.

Just now a new invention is talked about which, used in Sonora in several quartz mills, has raised the amount of gold recovered from 300% to 600%.

There is still a large field open for perfecting both the crushing and the amalgamation processes. Also it is well known that the quartz strata in all parts of the mining regions are inexhaustible. When we consider these facts it cannot be doubted that in the actual mining of this mother lode lies the lasting source of gold production which will survive all other branches of the mining industry and will develop more and more the true wealth of California's mountain regions.

Generally the California mining region is divided into a northern and a southern part, or distinguished, according to the source of supplies, as either the Sacramento or the Stockton district. Between the two lies a middle region which includes Placer, Eldorado and Amador counties. The very considerable mining activity in these counties is done on a basis that differs in some respects from that of the neighboring districts.

Accordingly, considering this, the following general survey of the California mining regions would result.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CALIFORNIA MINING REGION

COUNTIES	PRINCIPAL MINING CENTERS	RIVERS	STATISTICAL DATA (1858)	SUPPLY HEADQUARTERS
<i>Northern Region</i>				
Yuba	Nevada	Feather	Quartz mills 81	
Sierra	Grass Valley		with stamps 672	
Nevada	Rough & Ready	Yuba	Arrastras, grinding mills 90	
Plumas	North San Juan		Value \$1,050,000	Sacramento
Butte	Downieville	and	Ditches 254	
Shasta	Gibsonville		Length in miles 1500	
	Laporte	American	Cost \$3,300,000	
with Trinity	San Luis		Bridges 36	and
and Klamath	Forest City	River	Ferries 45	
as most	Oroville	(North Fork)	Highways 152 miles	
northern	Shasta		Sawmills 161	
districts			steam 86	Marysville
			waterpower 75	
			Production capacity	
			per year, 100 Mill. Feet	
			Cost \$500,000	
<i>Central Region</i>				
	Auburn	American	Quartz mills 89	
	Iowa Hill	River	with stamps 857	
Placer	Placerville		Grinding mills 115	
	Coloma	(Middle	Cost \$700,000	
Eldorado	Jackson	and	Ditches 399	
Amador	Drytown	South)	Length in miles 2175	
	Volcano	Cosumnes	Cost \$4,150,000	Sacramento
			Bridges 31	
			Ferries 17	
			Highways 120 miles	
			Sawmills 83	
			Production capacity	
			per year, 52 Mill. F.	
			Cost \$260,000	
<i>Southern Region</i>				
Calaveras	Mokelumne Hill	Mokelumne	Quartz mills 115	
	San Andreas		with stamps 801	
Tuolumne	Angels	Calaveras	Grinding mills 140	
	Murphy's		Cost \$1,037,000	
Mariposa	Columbia	Stanislaus	Ditches 78	
with further	Sonora	Tuolumne	Length in miles 796	
extensions	Montezuma		Cost \$3,250,000	Stockton
toward	Jacksonville	Merced	Bridges 15	
Fresno and	Big Oak Flat		Ferries 20	
the Kern	Coulterville	Mariposa	Highways 40 miles	
R. mines	Mariposa		Sawmills 42	
			Production capacity,	
			32 Mill. F. per year	
			Cost \$400,000	

The above statistical data were taken from the official reports of the counties mentioned, which include all the main mining districts. Gaps are filled in by computation in only a few instances. The districts in the extreme north and south, where the statistics are naturally very incomplete, affect the general results only inconsiderably.

The statistical table of the twelve counties, comprising the main mining interests of the State of California, will follow at the end of this article. It will serve to show the comparative importance of the different mining districts. By the additional details about cattle raising, agriculture, and horticulture it will prove that before very long California's mountain region will rival the plains. This merits special attention in regard to the vineyards.

The purpose of the first part of our trip, undertaken from Sacramento, was to visit the mining regions of Yuba and Nevada [counties]. Leaving Sacramento a second time we went by way of Jackson to the southern mining region where the sight-seeing of the giant trees of Calaveras formed a pleasant intermezzo. The mining districts visited there were those of Murphy's Flat and the environs of Sonora and Columbia, where we remained for several days.

As on former occasions our kind compatriots, Mr. Heyneman and Dr. Windeler, courteously came to our assistance. To their welcome company we owe the opportunity of seeing several great hydraulics* and the High Flume, which latter (as well as the workings at Murphy's) offered interesting subjects for sketches. Even though we would have had the same inviting auspices as in Columbia, the visits to Coulterville, Mariposa and Bear Valley — places well known to the writer from former tours — had to be postponed for another trip, although here was the seat of the southern quartz mill industry where the ruins [*Rudera*] of the former enterprises of Quartzburg and the famous first Nouveau Monde Company present monuments of a rivaling spirit of enterprise.

The California mining region is so spread out and there is so much to see that for anyone interested in the progress of the gold development to get but a glimpse of the main districts two or three weeks at least would be required. A tour of the north alone, with Nevada** as its central point and headquarters and including Downieville and the Sierra, Yuba, and Plumas regions, would justify the spending of fourteen days. Twice as much time would not be sufficient to explore, with Columbia as headquarters, the middle and southern mining regions. Add to this a week for the quiet enjoyment of the natural wonders of the giant trees of Calaveras and Mariposa and the waterfalls in the Yosemite Valley, which will attract much more attention abroad as they become better known.

Starting from Nevada or Columbia, a week's time, if no more be possible, should be sufficient to get with a fair certainty of satisfaction a clear view of the different working methods, and (considering the season) to follow the mining industry from pick and shovel through all the steps: rocker, long tom, sluicing, ground-sluicing, shaftwork, badgering, tunneling, box-tunneling, and river damming, to the quartz works and the great hydraulics.

The daguerreotype is especially suited to reproduce all these mechanical mining devices. In the mining region nature, too, seems bare of all cheerful embellishment, with a stark contrast between the naked masses of rock and the thin, straggly pine woods. Luxurious foliage is seen but rarely. Rich material for observation is offered in the photographic views of the American River region exhibited in Vance's Panorama. Similar photographs of other mining regions would complete a picture gallery the inspection of which would almost be a substitute for a visit to the places themselves.

* Throughout his article Vischer uses the term "hydraulics" to denote hydraulic mining and its methods, and this term has been retained herein to avoid circumlocution.

** For the first decade after the gold discovery the present Nevada City was commonly known and referred to simply as "Nevada."

For those not interested in the special phases of gold mining but who like the idea of having visited the actual mining district, the viewing of any mining region is sufficient. Outside of the peculiarities of the technical work the total impression is the same everywhere.

PART ONE

TRIP TO SACRAMENTO, NEVADA AND GRASS VALLEY, AND RETURN VIA MARYSVILLE

We left San Francisco on May 20 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on the steamer *Eclipse* and reached Sacramento City on a moonlight night, which gave a peculiar charm to the wide, tree-bordered levee and distant view of the bridge. In the morning at 7 o'clock (on the 21st) we took the railroad to Folsom, a distance of twenty-two miles, where, arriving at 8:45, we immediately boarded the Auburn stage for Nevada.

Soon after leaving Folsom we crossed the American River over a beautiful wire cable bridge with stone pillars flanked by a much higher, massive viaduct built for the railroad and almost completed. The perspective of this double bridge system with its arches and pillars, connecting the two river banks, between which the waters of the American River foam over rocks and boulders, is very imposing. The gold seekers, mostly Chinese, burrowing like ants in the depths, furnish a pigmy-like note. Their figures show even more favorably the proportions of the bridge-system made by human hands. In establishing a passage of the American River by the construction of these bridges, the blasting of rock and levelling the right bank caused delay and difficulty which have, however, by this time been mostly overcome; therefore from now on the Marysville-Folsom railroad will progress more rapidly. This railroad, traveling along the foot of the mountain ranges, will make all the northern mines more accessible. It will open to the commerce of Sacramento an expanding market-region which until now has been almost exclusively supplied by Marysville. In the course of the next few years Marysville may expect a benefit which will more than balance this: the construction of the projected rival railroad, which will connect Marysville directly with Benicia or Vallejo. Great advantages will result by avoiding the long and (during midsummer) sometimes interrupted boat-travel between Sacramento and Marysville. In running from Benicia, an established import-harbor, without any hindrance in a direct uninterrupted line to Marysville, it can be built more economically and therefore be run more cheaply notwithstanding the greater distance. Thus, not only will the northern part of the state be supplied exclusively by this road, but the Marysville and Sacramento railroad will be used in the opposite direction to supply the river regions south of Marysville. It will probably be able to deliver the freight more cheaply, which it has received directly, than would be possible via Sacramento.

The recognized practicability of this project, based on such apparent advantages, delayed the progress of the railroad from Folsom for some time. At pres-



THE HYDRAULIC METHOD OF MINING

ent, however, the work on the Sacramento and Marysville line is being rushed in order to gain as much profit as possible from the earlier start.

We reached Auburn, located about twenty-three miles from Folsom, at noon. Auburn has lost some of its mining activity. It has become the main refuge of the Chinese who make it their headquarters during their frequent expulsions from neighboring districts. Nevertheless, around noon when the stages coming from many directions meet here a very lively atmosphere is created. Most of this concentrates on Main Street around some American hotels and a row of clothing stores.

Between Auburn and Grass Valley the road crosses the Bear River over a massive wooden bridge. It was amusing to read on two upright redwood boards, about twenty feet long, the names of the delinquents who had avoided paying toll. The list, written in large Roman letters, was almost exclusively composed of teamsters. With the exception of the most inaccessible mining regions where to this day mule-drivers (*arrieros*), mostly Mexicans, use the pack method of transportation; on any road at all passable the American teamster with his great freight wagon has supplanted the "packer" of the first years of mining. These freight wagons, generally built to carry a weight of four to six tons, are drawn by six or eight strong mules. The heaviest and biggest of these wagons, known in the southern mining region by the name of "Stockton schooner," are naturally used only on the better roads of the prairie land. They can even carry a load of eight to ten tons and are drawn by twelve to sixteen mules. A wagon such as this with all its appurtenances represents a capital of \$10,000, for which sum half a dozen small river schooners could be built. Merchandise is transported almost exclusively to the mines by mules. Lumber, blocks of stone and other raw materials, however, are carted there by ox-teams because these materials do not require such fast delivery and the draft animals can be taken care of more cheaply on the way. The drivers of these various wagons, with the numerous animals of their teams, are the principal guests of the many roadside inns.

The region between Auburn and Grass Valley with its straggling pine woods is very monotonous. About the only characteristics here are frequent outcroppings of granite or feldspar, some of which are of basalt formation resting on layers of slate.

Arriving in Grass Valley around sunset, too late to visit the mines, we decided to proceed to Nevada where we arrived at 7:30 in the evening. After bathing we refreshed ourselves in the Restaurant Chauvel and made inquiries about finding Judge Anderson. We looked forward to the meeting with this old friend for he would give us authentic information about the surrounding mining region.

May 22, Sunday.—There being but little to see in Nevada we used the day for an excursion to North San Juan by private carriage. At first we had boarded the stage but had we remained in it we could not have carried out our plan as the coaches connecting with those in the other direction wait in San Juan only long enough to receive the passengers from Forest City. We were spared this

disappointment, thanks to our alighting again to avoid a regular crush of Chinese, as not less than five sons of the Celestial Empire crowded into the already packed coach. The distance from Nevada to North San Juan is fifteen miles. The [South Fork of the] Yuba River, rushing and foaming down between two walls of rock, is crossed by a beautiful one-span bridge.

By blasting away the rock the slope on both sides has been made into a good road which of course follows all the turns and curves of the mountain range. Several small places, Sebastopol, Sweetland, and others, which we passed shortly before arriving in San Juan, show the effect of the hydraulics on the mountain sides which are washed down and laid bare. The hydraulics in San Juan, however, overshadowed anything we had seen before. The work on the Star Company claims and the Ohio and Deadman's claim, where most of the tailings are floated off through tunnels, surprised us by the extent of the results obtained by the water jets. In place of mountains, deep gorges yawn, while here and there, like phantom spires, a few mountain walls still tower. These new mountain profiles make strange landmarks in the former natural topography. I made a sketch of the Star Company claim and learned the following details about Deadman's claim:

"Deadman's claim" was one of the first mines opened in that region and for a long time it was famous for its rich gold output. Now, almost forgotten, it has been worked down to bed-rock. The last rubble was flooded through the locks to the Middle Yuba several months ago. In March, 1853, the original owners, Chadburn and West, were killed accidentally by the cave-in of a bluff which they were trying to break through. They were not missed for quite some time. A little later the mine was sold for \$300 to seven partners. For three long years, until 1856, it barely produced a living and the expense of digging the shafts. During the greater part of the year water was lacking and whatever had been accomplished up to that time could be considered only as an unsuccessful attempt at prospecting. When the tunnel was driven 400 feet the wealth of the mine was revealed, and a quarter of it brought \$18,000 profit. Later, in August, 1857, one-sixth was sold for \$13,000. The gross proceeds for the next sixteen months to December, 1858, were \$156,307; expenses \$62,594 — net profit therefore \$94,000, or \$23,000 for a quarter share. The tunnel through the rock was 1000 feet long and cost \$12,000. This work is as valuable as ever. It serves the adjacent companies which enjoy good revenues and probably later on will strike as rich ground as was struck on the Dead Man's claim.

The first discovery of the mining district of North San Juan was made in January, 1853, but not until the spring of 1854, after the completion of the Middle Yuba Canal, were further developments started. These very soon opened some extremely productive gold mines.

[North] San Juan itself is a lively and fast-growing town which owes its rise partly to the great mining industry surrounding it and partly to its favorable location on the highway to Forest City and Downieville which connects directly with Carson City on the other side of the Sierra Nevada. It is planned

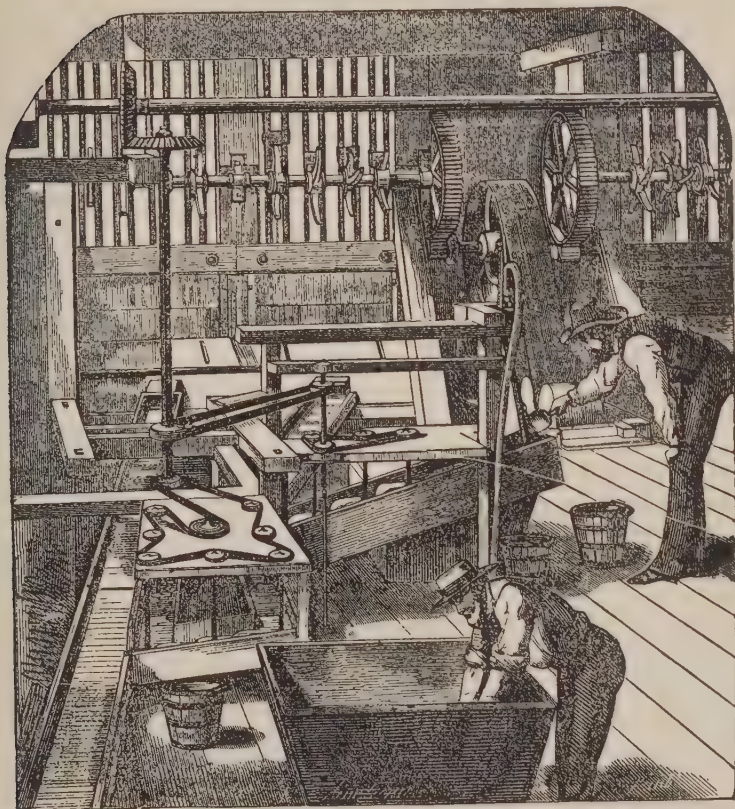
to use camels for transporting goods on that route. Langton's Express already is supposed to have made a contract with an enterprising firm in Amoor for furnishing these animals.*

It was quite pleasant to observe the animated life in North San Juan. During the noon hour more than twenty heavily-loaded freight wagons with their fine teams of eight to twelve large mules of the well-known Kentucky breed stopped in the streets. When they moved on, the ringing of the bells on their heads and necks created a strange music. To this was added the rattling of the stage-coaches and many private vehicles that met here. It being Sunday, the streets were filled with miners from the environs enjoying their day of rest. For the most part they were orderly appearing people, well and suitably dressed, their quiet decent manner very different from the wild mob which, noisily drinking and gambling, filled every mining settlement years ago. Again the observation was impressed indelibly on us that the miners had gained much in self-respect, which for the most part is due to an increase in the number of families. After a savory meal in a French restaurant, whose accommodating host had sent with us a well-informed, practical miner as a guide, we started on our return trip and reached Nevada toward sunset, all of us well satisfied with what we had seen during the day.

The hydraulics of Nevada, although in themselves important enough to draw the attention of the observer, nevertheless lose something of their grandeur compared to the giant enterprises which are offered in the new region of Sierra County. However, the aqueduct (the first undertaking of this kind) which traverses American Hill through a deep canyon cannot fail to impress the observer. Just at this place, I, who often formerly had visited Nevada, realized for the first time the importance of employing water-power. I saw how a handful of men readily took out the very heart of a mountain with their water hose, where in the year 1851 several hundred men had toiled hard, digging deep shafts to work but imperfectly their individual claims. Based on the great principle of economy of labor there can be no more striking argument advanced to convince one of the importance of this truly Californian invention. Granted that expensive preliminary work is needed, such as bringing the water from the summit of the mountain to obtain the necessary drop, still, once in running order, whole mountain ranges can be flooded. Thus it shows clearly that a comparatively small outlay can bring tremendous results and in some districts where work has been stopped it can be successfully started up again.

It is interesting to see how the water, brought down from the sources of the mountain river in the main canal or flume, is used. Generally the river bed becomes almost dry and this is opened up for mining. The energy-giving element branches out bewilderingly from one level to the next, from the upper district to the lower, and is caught up to serve other companies at work farther down. Again and again it is used until the original bed, so long deprived of its

*See "Camels in California," by A. A. Gray, and "Camels in the Sketches of Edward Vischer," by Francis P. Farquhar, in this *Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 4, December, 1930.



INTERIOR OF A QUARTZ STAMP MILL in Grass Valley. Shows the working of the quartz rock from the crushing under the stampammers to amalgamation. *The Miner's Handbook* contains a full description of the details of the whole process.



Shaft and Tunnel Work

INTERIOR OF A TUNNEL WITH MINERS WORKING IN IT

water, receives it again near the river's mouth as a reddish, thick, opaque mush. Whoever observes these mountain region waste waters heavily laden with mud will no longer be surprised at being able to recognize the Sacramento River by the color of its water far into the Bay.

For years Nevada has been considered the central point of the northern mining industry. It might be of interest to glance at the history of its founding and its gradual development.

The name Nevada was bestowed in the year 1850 at an alcalde election. This name seemed more fitting and ended the confusion caused by the two names used for that locality: "Caldwell's Upper Store" and "Deer Creek Diggings."

The discovery of gold in "Coyote Ravine" to the northeast caused the digging of shafts to get at the "Coyote Lead." A few struck it; the majority, however persevered until the rich vein was found again in the direction where later the town of Coyoteville was founded. The work consisted of sinking shafts and then digging horizontally after the right stratum was found. It has been estimated that almost eight million dollars were taken from one mountain stratum about a mile long and not more than a half mile wide at any place.

During the year 1851 great excitement was caused by the discovery of gold in quartz; the hills sloping toward Deer Creek were extensively bored into and considerable special machinery was set up to exploit the hidden treasure. A few were successful but for most it proved a bitter disappointment. The latter was especially true in regard to speculators who, succumbing with their capital to the lure, became victims of their credulity.

Noteworthy in this regard is the Bunker Hill Co. which enticed many people by a supposed infallible method of finding gold. The quartz was roasted in immense furnaces in the hope that molten gold would be found in the receptacles beneath. But no gold appeared. Then a crushing mill was built to exploit the roasted quartz, but unfortunately the "tailings" proved to be pure quartz, rivaling in its purity the quartz of any other country. The loss of this company was figured to be \$85,000. The wreck of the big overshot waterwheel, visible for years in the ravine, was the only tangible monument to the enterprising spirit of the Bunker Hill Co. Their ephemeral existence was immortalized in another way, however, by a droll prospectus which at the time served to amuse the settlers in that region.

Early in its history Nevada was afflicted by great conflagrations which were repeated year after year and more than once changed the town into a great field of ashes. One of the first of these fires which threatened complete destruction was stopped in its course by a gap in the row of houses on Deer Creek Street. This gap had been caused just previously by a winter flood that tore away a new theater and all its surrounding buildings. Thus unexpectedly a former partial calamity served to avoid a much greater one. Without that favorable clear space the flames would have roared relentlessly down Main Street and devoured the other quarters with no possible way of saving the most important part of town.

The beginning of winter of the year 1852 was extraordinarily stormy. From day to day it rained or snowed. Connection with Sacramento was practically cut off and only a few deliveries could get through from Marysville. On December 31 flour was worth \$40 for a hundred pounds in Nevada. Beef cost 40 cents retail and 35 cents on the hoof; potatoes 15 cents; freight from Marysville 10 cents; and board per week in all the hotels was \$16. In January milder weather set in and a rich harvest of gold very soon made the miners forget all the troubles of the past season.

The difference between working the mines in 1850 and 1852 was striking. In the latter and following years work was undertaken which the pioneers would not have believed possible. People who had gone home in 1850 and returned in the year 1852 found that because of new improvements their ideas about the mining industry had become ridiculous. Pans, rockers and even the newly invented long tom were forgotten. Now the question was not merely to scratch the surface. A single man washed more dirt than ten men formerly and he took more gold from it than was taken before. The digging of tunnels, the carrying of water through mountains of stone, shafts over a hundred feet deep, and ditches many miles long, showed the progress of the times.

It is surprising how quickly the practical sense of the mining population grasped the demands of the mining industry. With the exception of the hydraulic hose, a later invention, nearly all the other methods, now of course infinitely improved, were employed during the first few years.

The development of the increasingly productive mining industry in Nevada is due, as practically everywhere else, chiefly to the artificial supply of water. The number of "ditch enterprises" in Nevada County is surprising. After a short period of activity, however, almost all of these were submerged in later and more daring enterprises. Rough and Ready, in August, 1850, made the first attempt from Deer Creek. Later the Deer Creek and Coyote Water Company ended a long dispute about priority rights by joining forces but giving preference to the Deer Creek Mining Company's ditch and to many others. Finally, however, the rights were given to the Middle Yuba Co.

The Middle Yuba Canal was begun in 1854 to conduct the water from Grizzly Canyon to San Juan, Sebastopol, etc. As the feeders were insufficient, it was extended later to the Middle Yuba. This canal traverses a very difficult route and only great persistence could have overcome the obstacles in the way of its construction.

The Rock Creek, Deer Creek and South Yuba Company, an association formed by consolidating all the former Nevada companies, carried on their project, which may be regarded as the greatest aqueduct in the county, on the South Yuba as far as upper Deer Creek. On a granite promontory on the South Yuba it was necessary to blast rock for a whole mile to a height of eighty feet in order to gain a fifteen-foot level for the aqueduct. The tunnel which had to be cut through Deep Hollow Mountain range is 204 feet beneath the summit and 3100 feet long. By these and similar efforts it has become possible to make

use of the water of the Yuba Springs and of the melting snow in the highest mountain basins. This water power, utilized for hydraulic work, long ago extended the field of the mining industry from the former region of Rough and Ready, Nevada and Grass Valley, to some important districts located higher up. To this, North San Juan, Forest City, Laporte, Eureka, Howland Flat, St. Louis, Gibsonville, Pine Grove, Comptonville [sic] and many other locations owe their beginning.

Naturally Nevada City lost its former position of principal city and key to the whole mountain region when the population spread like this over a mountain district that was originally inaccessible. A succession of devastating fires, especially the last one at the time of the Fraser River emigration, has reduced the size of the earlier fairly extensive settlement to just a few main streets in the neighborhood of Deer Creek. However, the slopes of the whole valley basin are covered with houses and the surrounding district with a number of smaller places forms quite a considerable aggregate.

It is quite appropriate and it is surely worth the trouble to consider closely now the principle as well as the effect of the use of hydraulics in the mining industry of California made feasible by water diversion. An almost complete change in the system of mining gold is due to these enterprises.

AQUEDUCTS, HYDRAULICS AND OTHER METHODS OF CALIFORNIA MINING

EDITOR'S NOTE:—At this time we feel the need of referring to the detailed technical data in the *Miner's Handbook* [*The Miner's Own Book*], which describes exactly in gradual sequence the main phases of mining from the most primitive methods to the actual mining industry and elucidates them by well-chosen illustrations. We do not hesitate to use the views from that interesting brochure which almost speak for themselves. Sketches of several mines from the hand of the author were very kindly offered to us. Much to our regret there is not enough time to have them made into woodcuts for this publication. We refer you therefore to the closer description in the *Handbook* and limit ourselves to the illustrations selected with a few words of explanation.

Aqueducts

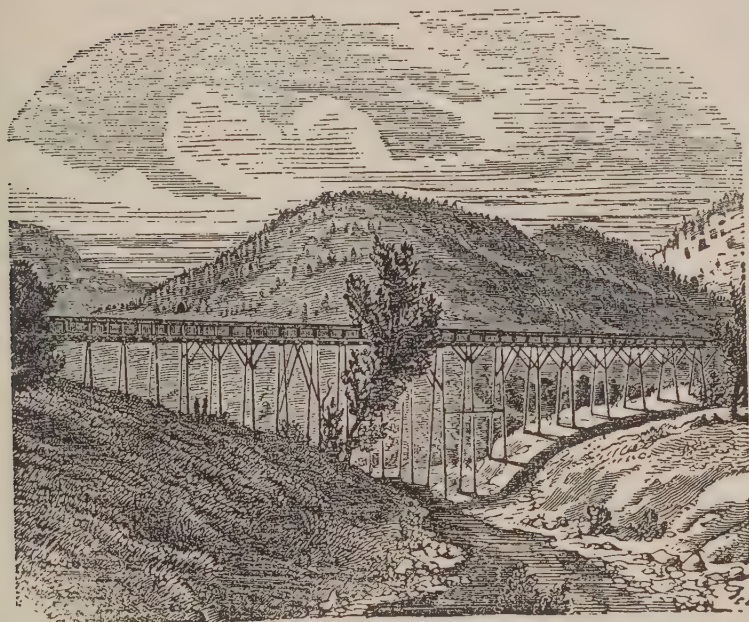
AQUEDUCT ACROSS A MOUNTAIN VALLEY. [See opposite page.] Shows the usual kind of box conduit which, when the continuation of a canal is interrupted by lowlands, reaches the opposite level by using an uncovered box-work supported on posts or piers and called a "flume."

SUSPENSION BRIDGE AQUEDUCT OVER BRANDY GULCH. [See opposite page.] Shows a suspension flume. The nearest part on the right-hand side shows the solid foundation on this side of the gorge; the more distant part shows the opposite mountain wall. To traverse the space between with the least possible expense the trees standing in that direction have been used here and there as natural props in addition to the pillars built in between. They serve to carry a light drain box, hung on wires, across the gulch.

Hydraulic Mining

The water power gotten in the manner described before and known, when used in the mining industry, under the general name of "hydraulics" or "hydraulic washings," has become the most effective lever for gold production in the entire mountain region.

The water jet, resulting from a properly directed fall and under pressure, is



trained on the mountain wall to be worked like a common fire hose. By washing away the subsoil or binding strata it lays bare the more compact stone or rock and thus by united effect of the force of water and gravity loosens it from the bank. This method, a California invention, used first by a miner named Matteson in Nevada* on the so-called American Hill has been generally accepted in the northern mining region and has also been transplanted with good success to the southern mines wherever the local conditions were favorable. In a relatively short time it allows enormous masses of useless and impeding layers of earth and stone to be cleared away. The strata containing gold may then be worked with the utmost efficiency and economy. Thus it has become an indispensable device of the greatest importance for many regions that would otherwise be unproductive.

(The sketch on page 9 [231] gives a good view of a canyon washed by hydraulics, or rather of a mountain wall washed down to bedrock. However, the water hoses which conduct the mountain torrent into the nozzle are not distinct enough to be recognized.)

The hydraulic method is not without danger for the workmen using it. Sometimes there is an accident caused by the sudden crash of rocks followed by a landslide; the men may be buried before they can reach a place of safety.

Only a few of the aqueducts in the mountain region have sufficient water supply in reserve to last for the remainder of the year after the snow has more or less melted away. Therefore, working with hydraulics is almost as temporary and dependent on the season as working on dykes and sluices in the lower river beds; the latter depending on opposite extremes of the water level. While spring is the best time for hydraulic work the miner's real harvest time comes in late fall when the river beds are laid dry. If not broken up in time to save the material for the next season, the dykes, pumping plants and flumes erected by them generally fall prey to the first winter floods.

Everywhere in Sierra County shaft mining may be said to go hand in hand with hydraulics and both kinds of enterprises compete in importance. While St. Louis, Portwine, Scales Diggings, Poverty Hill, Gibsonville, La Porte, Secret Diggings, Craggs Flat, Eureka, Morristown, and other places have become famous for their use of water, tunnel work predominates in Monte Cristo, Whisky, Pine Grove, Howland Flat, Gold Canyon, Chaparral Hill, Forest City, Alleghanytown, Minnesota, and Chips Flat, and their magnitude surpasses all former undertakings in this branch.

Many of these tunnels are worked with the aid of hydraulics and tunneling is necessary in some other places in order to open up hydraulic workings or to make space for carrying off the washings or debris. In this connection special mention should be made of the so-called drift diggings where tunnels without any artificial support have been made through the strata above the bedrock in order to exploit the pay dirt, because washing off of the covering ground would

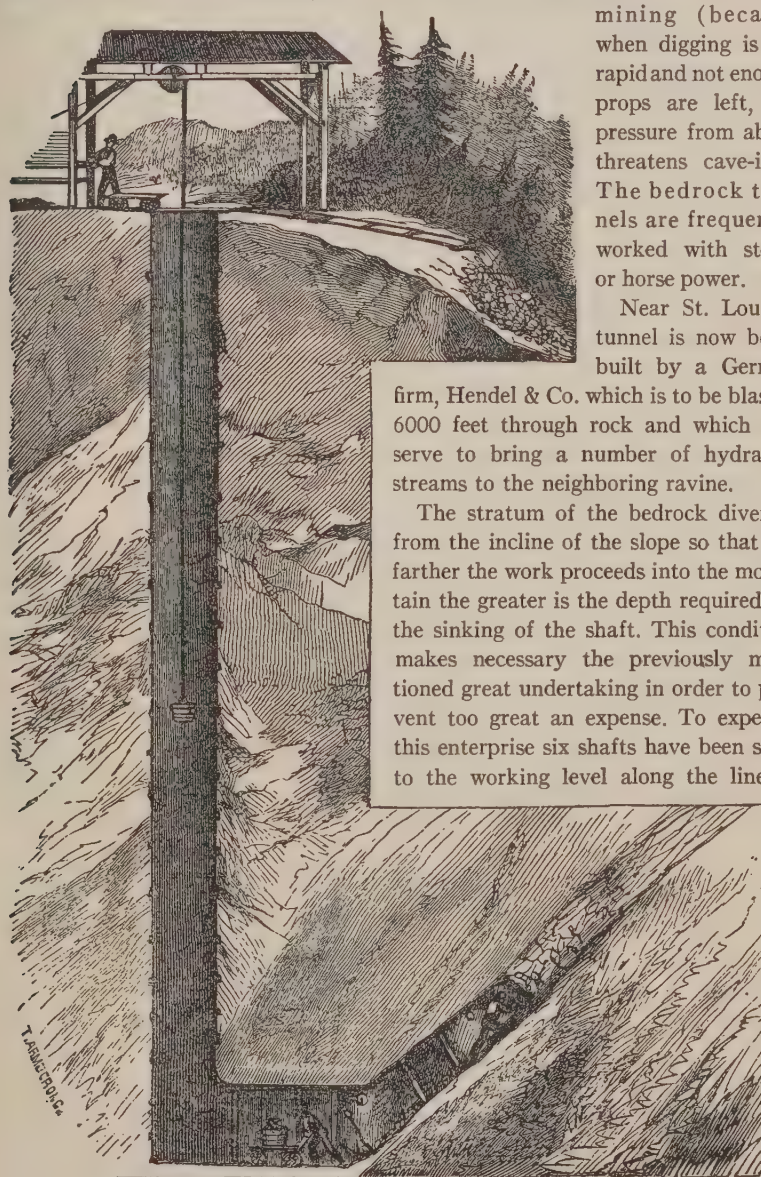
* Edward E. Matteson. See *Miners' Own Book*, p. 28.

be too expensive. This drift work is used wherever hydraulics have been introduced and is the most profitable, likewise the most dangerous work of California

mining (because when digging is too rapid and not enough props are left, the pressure from above threatens cave-ins). The bedrock tunnels are frequently worked with steam or horse power.

Near St. Louis a tunnel is now being built by a German firm, Hendel & Co. which is to be blasted 6000 feet through rock and which will serve to bring a number of hydraulic streams to the neighboring ravine.

The stratum of the bedrock diverges from the incline of the slope so that the farther the work proceeds into the mountain the greater is the depth required for the sinking of the shaft. This condition makes necessary the previously mentioned great undertaking in order to prevent too great an expense. To expedite this enterprise six shafts have been sunk to the working level along the line of



Quartz Mining

SINKING A SHAFT. Shows how a gold-bearing quartz vein is worked in a mine.

the projected tunnel in approximately equal distance from the surface so that on reaching the correct depth the work can be carried on simultaneously by all.

A tunnel similar to that of Hendel, 2000 feet long, was started on the other side of St. Louis by the Alturas Co. in order to bring a flume with a proper head of water to the works.

A still greater enterprise is projected for next spring and consists of extending the water system of the Sears Union Water Company to bring water to this mining region from Long Lake and Gold Lake located fifty miles beyond the mountain divide behind St. Louis. The practicability of this plan has already been shown by surveys and the estimated cost of \$250,000 can easily be procured. The flow has been calculated at 3000 inches (miner's measure) of water in twenty-four hours. The area of Gold Lake is about 2500 acres, that of Long Lake 800 and between them are two smaller lakes of about 160 acres each. Without much difficulty these lakes can be dammed to hold a water supply twenty feet deep. The small mountain streams offer enough influx during the spring so that the reservoir of these lakes need not be touched before August 1 and thus the Sierra mining region will be provided with water the whole year. Until now dearth of water was the greatest drawback to rapid development of the mines of this region and the location of these lakes is high enough to provide Gibsonville, Rabbit Creek and Poverty [Flat] with water.

It should not be overlooked that such enterprises are undertaken by practical miners usually without consulting regular engineers. Here, as in other mining countries, practical experience can in most cases substitute for theoretical knowledge. Near Eureka a French-American company has built a snake-like ditch, the great Magenta Flume, constructing it in this wise so that its curves will offer better resistance to the winter storms.

The miner tries usually to follow the course of the so-called bedrock because the layer directly above it is considered the natural seat of the gold deposits. Occasionally this bedrock extends both in parallel and diagonal directions and thus it happens sometimes, as for example in the so-called Blue Banks near Downieville, that several companies, working directly above each other at different levels, simultaneously strike bedrock and follow it in the belief that they have found the true layer. The expectations in regard to gold deposits are then frequently disappointed as the layer there is often thin and deceptive so that success is quite accidental. The true advantage for the miner lies in beginning his work immediately in the so-called pay dirt which, although seemingly poor, will still always contain enough gold to pay his wages. The more observations made, however, the greater the conviction that the depositing of gold is governed by still unexplained laws because the capricious occurrence and bizarre characteristics of the noble metal destroy almost every general theory, and in some isolated cases even seem directly to oppose every reasonable supposition. Thus, gold is often found in so-called pockets or nests while not "a color" can be found in all the surrounding region; and again there is absolutely none in the bedrock although the upper prospects have justified the expectation of a

rich deposit. Individual experience has even called forth many differences of opinion as to the color and material of the true *lead*. One seeks his fortune in the blue clay, the other in the reddish, according to whether he has at first been more successful in places where the surface material was ochraceous or ferrous.

The Mexican seems to possess what might be called an instinctive ability; he disregards all theoretic discussions and new methods. Wandering about in the mountains he uses his dagger-like pocket knife as his most reliable tool and whenever the fancy takes him he scratches from a rock fissure a pan full of poor-looking dirt which perhaps he must carry miles to wash. He has, however, skimmed the cream from many a place where envious companies have later wasted much time and labor on mere rubbish. It seems almost obligatory to believe these people to be endowed with wishing-wands because their success, even though it be in small measure, is so assured. Not always, however, is it restricted to individual accidents in the wilderness. People tell of the Mount Ophir, discovered by seven Mexicans who exploited it alone for a week. In that time it produced \$217,000 for the lucky gold diggers and filled with from \$8 to \$12 worth of gold sand every basket pulled up the twenty-foot shaft by hand.

In speaking of Sierra County mention should be made of the so-called Scales Diggings where the layer which contains gold is in the form of a loose marl sand which seems to bear alluvial materials and which produces richly with only a slight use of the hose. In other places the hydraulics sometimes serve only to reach the gold-bearing stratum because the general toughness of the clay which contains the gold resists the water and only the pick can produce its wealth.

The quartz mines have been opened so recently that they should be considered as in their infancy. They progress, however, from day to day and almost every week brings new discoveries. The Butte's quartz mines near Hog Canyon, belonging to a German, Christopher Ries, and estimated at \$300,000 value; the Eureka Mills, Seventy-Six and other mills, driven by water or steam, should be mentioned here and give an idea of the future extent promised by this branch of mining in Sierra [County].

After this justifiable departure from our main purpose we return to the pursuit of our own observations in Nevada County.

We devoted the morning of May 23 to a visit to neighboring Grass Valley where our stay was too short to visit any of the numerous quartz stamp mills other than those of the Gold Hill Company. Last year, owing to the kindness of Mr. M. Atwood and Judge Walsh, not only did I visit the important works of this company, but I viewed several neighboring mills as well. I mention especially those of the Massachusetts Company with their diagonal shaft, 300 feet deep, and their powerful steam pumps with which the work is to be driven deeper so as to follow the Blue Lead which, when found under water, was such a disappointment to the former owner that his despair caused a terrible family catastrophe.* The French company now owning the works can expect great success.

* See Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County*, 1867, p. 207.

In looking over these extensive enterprises and the large amount of capital invested in them one must reflect involuntarily that even though the mines produce a relatively satisfactory profit the original investments of the first period will find it difficult to compete on a paying basis with the new neighboring enterprises, which are operating under much smaller costs and whose initial expense was much less as a result of buying up buildings and equipment of older liquidated companies and which now have the advantage of the free use of the dearly bought experiences of their predecessors.

The most successful mine in the vicinity of Grass Valley is the so-called Allison Ranch, situated about five miles in the direction of Auburn. The profit from Allison's mine was \$42,000 during the last twelve days before our visit. The mine had been very successful up to that time but the profits had never been so consistently satisfactory. The expenses are about \$2500 to \$2800 a week and the work is now carried on at about 140 feet below the surface. The water is easily kept down by powerful steam pumps. Every twenty-four hours the deposits are washed, producing about 350 ounces of amalgam worth about \$9 per ounce.

In Gold Hill extremely rich veins have recently come to light and in certain pockets the gold found was in a peculiar dendritic or leaf-like form.

Grass Valley, as the second most important mining place of the Nevada district, deserves a short historical review. A backward glance at its development is perhaps more interesting than one at the annals of Nevada itself. We can, however, follow only the main outlines of its progress.

The name "Grass Valley" comes from the abundant vegetation of the valley, whose pastures certainly succored the emaciated beasts of burden of the first comers. The first step towards a settlement was the erection of several saw mills in the fall of 1849. The buildings were erected with much difficulty, however, as they were exposed to the attacks of the wild Indians of the region. A general summons was sent to the miners of Deer Creek who, aided by the military post, Far West,* finally drove these marauders back to the mountains.

The first log cabin was built on the present Main Street by a man named Scott. The first hotel, the Mountain Home, was opened by a man named Underwood. As late as January, 1851, there were only three or four log cabins in Grass Valley. Soon thereafter the population increased rapidly and it is probable that no other place in the state grew to importance so quickly. This was largely due to the gold-quartz excitement which flamed high at this time. The first piece of quartz containing gold was found in September '50 on Gold Hill by a German, who while fetching water, stubbed his toe and broke off a piece of the rock. A similar accident, the quarrying of stone for a chimney, led in November '51 to the discovery of a rich quartz vein which, when exploited with the crudest methods by Huff & Co., produced \$20,000 of gold in the following winter.

The first successful quartz mill in the state was in Grass Valley. The Gold

*See pp. 121-22 of "The Topographical Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby," in this *Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1932.

Hill Company built their mills early in '51 and Judge Walsh built his also at that time. Both with their mines were taken over and operated by an English company named the Agua Fria Company. Many other stamp mills soon followed. More machinery was in operation in Grass Valley at this time than in any other mining district of the state. During the year 1852 the draining of the mines caused much work and much expense. In 1853 business picked up, however, and with but little fluctuation has since then been quite successful. The first water ditches of the Centreville Canal, bringing water from Little Deer Creek, were constructed in the fall and winter of 1852.

Lola Montez, famous throughout the world, chose Grass Valley as her place of abode for a whole year before her departure for Australia. Many of her eccentricities were much in evidence here. She lived in a charming little cottage on Mill Street surrounded by her pet bear, dogs, birds and flowers. Here from the bare earth she created a complete little paradise. Since her departure her flowers have been deprived of her care and the place where formerly a lovely garden smiled stood lonely and deserted for a long time.

Grass Valley has shared Nevada's fate of having been more than once ravaged by fire, but the steadfastness of the inhabitants each time conquered the misfortune. No blow could halt the progress of the place.

Intending to return to Sacramento via Marysville, we left Grass Valley the same morning. Soon we passed Rough and Ready and at noon reached Empire Ranch. Here we expected to spend a few hours in a leisurely inspection of the hydraulics of Timbuctoo. Their excellence had been especially recommended to us. Unfortunately, however, the miners of that region had unanimously decided to declare a "Blue Monday" (holiday) and we could not fulfill our main purpose in going there, that is, of seeing the work in full operation.

This unpleasant disappointment was followed by another, the balking of our plan to visit Marysville. The flats of the Yuba were flooded as a result of the rapid melting of the snow in the mountains during the warm weather of the last few days. The stage coming from Marysville had lost three hours in crossing the Slough. The passengers were placed in boats which had to be dragged across the intervening points of land, while the transfer of the horses was very dangerous, and one span was only with difficulty saved from drowning. We could hardly hope to get through with our private equipage under such conditions and the only correct decision seemed to be that of returning to Nevada, there the following morning to take the stage to Folsom, thus using the old route via Auburn for our return journey. For the third time we spent the night in Nevada and decided then to retain our private carriage. The year before, two months earlier in the season when the landscape was still wintry, the route via Marysville was the only one fit for travel, and instead of mild, pleasant spring air we had a constant variation of rain, snow and hail storms. Now the roads were dusty and in many places were washed out altogether. In the low spot between Rough & Ready and Nevada there was such an immense puddle that my honored traveling companion, Mr. Christian Hellman, who had

retained the outside seat with the hardihood of a veteran, took back to England a more wintry idea of the California meadows than I had received before on my many trips during ten years' stay in the country. A very welcome contrast to such outer discomfort was furnished by Mr. Atwood's hospitable hearth, his home, and his charming family circle with whom we spent a very enjoyable evening.

Dust and heat are the ruling elements of the California mining region very soon after beautiful spring has poured out her ephemeral glory over mountain and valley. We had our share of them on the uninteresting journey via Auburn. Our only adventure was getting lost twice so that we almost missed the evening train at Folsom. A few days later the bridge over the Bear River became the spoil of the waters when a heavy transport wagon (one of the famous "Stockton schooners") crashed through it and broke it up. (Both people and animals were miraculously saved.) We reached Folsom a few minutes before the departure of the train. In Sacramento we stopped at the splendid new St. George Hotel, which has taken the place of the Orleans, and which at this time can surely be considered as the largest hotel in California.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY

II

REPORT ON THE TULARE VALLEY OF CALIFORNIA, APRIL AND MAY, 1850*

MAJOR CANBY'S ORDERS TO LIEUTENANT DERBY

*Head-quarters 10th Military Department,
Monterey, California, April 9, 1850*

Sir:

The objects of the reconnoissance which you are about to make have already been verbally indicated to you, and I am now instructed by the commanding general to direct your attention again to the most important of these objects:

1st. An examination of the country between the latitude of San Miguel and that of San Luis Obispo, for the purpose of selecting a position that will cover the passes leading from the Tulare into the settled country east of San Luis Obispo.

2d. An examination of the passes between San Miguel and Santa Margarita, and of the valley of the Tulare from that neighborhood to the Kings river for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is a practicable route for loaded wagons from the coast to Kings river.²¹

This route should cross the Sanjon de San Jose²² at or near its junction with the lake; and it is important to ascertain whether any portion of this route is overflowed in the seasons of high water. If so, what portion of it, and for what period of the year. The route from San Luis Obispo has already been examined by Captain Warner,²³ and it will only be necessary to examine that portion of it that lies east of the San Luis and Monterey road.

If, however, you should have time, it will be well to ascertain the present condition of the road from San Luis to Santa Margarita, and also whether the land transportation may not be diminished by landing supplies at Estero bay, instead of the Bay of San Luis. Captain John Wilson²⁴ is suggested to you as a person from whom you may obtain much reliable information in relation to this subject, as well, also, as to the safety of Estero bay for vessels. If you should visit Estero bay, the latitude and longitude of the Moro will be determined.

3d. The examination of the country on the eastern side of the Tulare from the San Joaquin river on the north to the latitude of ——— on the south, for the purpose of selecting a suitable position for the establishment of a military post in the neighborhood of the Tulare lake.

The objects to be attained in making this establishment, will be the protection of the frontier east of San Luis Obispo from Indian incursions, and the

* Printed in Senate Executive Document No. 110, 32d Congress, 1st Session, 1852 (Report of the Secretary of War), pp. 1-17, accompanied by map. There is also a manuscript copy in the archives of the Corps of Engineers, War Department, Washington.

control of the Indians inhabiting the borders of the lakes and the slopes of the Sierra Nevada, east and north of those lakes. The No-tonto²⁵ village occupies a central position for these purposes, and has heretofore been suggested as a suitable position for the establishment of a military post. You will give a particular attention to the examination of points in that neighborhood, indicating the several points that may possess the necessary requisites for military posts, and reporting particularly for the information of the brigadier-general commanding: the comparative advantages of each; the military and general resources of the country in the neighborhood; the facility with which lateral communication may be made for the purpose of operating against the Indians of that country, and the nature and length of the route by which the command to be stationed there must be supplied. Particular attention will also be given to the collection of such information as may be useful in guarding against the selection of an unhealthy position; and among other facts, you will ascertain, if practicable, the direction of the prevalent winds during the summer and fall months, and the nature of the country (whether marshy or otherwise) over which they pass.

4th. The selection of the route by which supplies are to be sent from the coast being of very great importance, you will bestow particular care in the examination of such as may be discovered by or suggested to you. In addition to that already indicated to you, there are two others to which your attention will be directed. The first of these is from the highest point of navigation on the San Joaquin by the valley of that river to the neighborhood of the point at which the post is to be established. The second is from Monterey by some practicable pass in the coast range, if one can be discovered, to the neighborhood of the same point.

Both of these routes will probably cross the Sanjon de San José at its junction with the San Joaquin river, and be the same for the remainder of the distance. For the first of these routes it will only be necessary to ascertain the point to which vessels may ascend the San Joaquin, and the length and nature of the road from that point to the crossing of the San Joaquin or the Sanjon, as the case may be; and for the second the examination of such of the passes in the coast range between Pacheco's and San Miguel as may promise to be practicable for loaded wagons.

Care will be taken to select for the passage of any streams that it may be necessary to cross, points at which the banks on both sides are accessible by wagons at all seasons of the year, that the length of the different routes should be ascertained, and that the nature of any obstacles should be fully reported.

In addition to the above you are desired to collect and report, for the information of the commanding general, any reliable information in relation to the general and military resources of the country through which you pass; its geological structure, &c., &c.; and to determine as accurately as your means will permit, the latitude and longitude of the northern extremities of the lakes Tache and Buena Vista, and any other important points.

The infantry company under the command of Lieutenant Moore,²⁶ is de-

signed to cover your operations while engaged in the Indian country in the vicinity of the Tulare, and that officer will be instructed to do this effectually and to render you any assistance that may be needed. For the ordinary purposes of assistance and protection in the performance of your duties, the topographical party heretofore authorized (one guide and eight men) will be sufficient, if your operations are conducted within a reasonable distance of that command. If, however, that force at any time be found insufficient, you will make requisitions upon Lieutenant Moore for any escort that may be deemed necessary.

The commanding general does not anticipate any difficulties with the Indians that you may encounter in your operations, but it will be necessary to be constantly on the guard, and that you should not at any time place yourself beyond the reach of assistance. You will see that the Indians whom you meet are treated kindly by your party, but you will not suffer them to remain in large parties about your camp. The utmost economy will be observed in your operations; and the commanding general directs that no expenditures be made, or obligations contracted, except such as are indispensably necessary.

Very Respectfully, your obedient servant,

ED. R. S. CANBY,
Assistant Adjutant General.

LIEUTENANT G. H. DERBY, *Topographical Engineers,*
Monterey, California.

LIEUTENANT DERBY'S REPORT

Monterey, July 10, 1850.

Major:

I have the honor to report that in compliance with the above instructions, I left Monterey upon the 10th of April, with my party and the escort assigned for the duty, and proceeded at once to the completion of the duties assigned to me in Articles one and two, which occupied me until the 26th, when I returned to San Miguel and reported to you in detail the result of my operations. In the discharge of these duties I measured and took the bearings of the road from Monterey to San Luis Obispo, observing also the latitude and longitude of the principal intermediate points, (a summary of which will be found in the margin,) and I examined thoroughly the ranges of the coast mountains to the east of the road, for the purpose of ascertaining if there could be any communication with the sea from a point between San Miguel and San Luis Obispo.

The road from San Miguel to San Luis Obispo, I found generally good; between Paso de Roblas²⁷ (a rancho upon the road about fifteen miles from San Miguel and Santa Margarita,) there are two or three places, however, where for a short distance the ground is constantly muddy, and there is a long and somewhat steep hill to be surmounted three miles west of San Luis Obispo, but these

are difficulties of no particular importance, and the road may be, and is in fact at present, constantly travelled by vehicles of every description. The bay of San Simeon, in latitude $35^{\circ} 40'$ north, is in appearance, a good roadstead, and is well protected from the north and west; but I was informed that both this and Estero bay, which is an indentation in the coast in latitude $35^{\circ} 20'$ north, (nine miles north of San Luis Obispo,) are impracticable for anything but the smaller class of vessels, drawing but about eight or ten feet of water, and their entrances dangerous, and obstructed by rocks and sand-bars. The bay of San Luis Obispo, on the contrary, I found highly recommended as easy of entrance, safe and commodious; but as I was obliged to obtain my information from residents of that place, which with its few half ruined adobe buildings, they persist in considering a thriving city, I think it possible their opinions on the subject may be slightly prejudicial. The bay appears well, however, and is certainly sufficiently extensive. I observed a large brig lying at anchor inside, while there. As I had no instructions to that effect, and it would have occupied some time, I made no particular examination of these bays, or the intermediate coast, but I would respectfully suggest the propriety of having a general survey made of the bay of San Simeon, as the several opinions to which I listened on the subject I found materially conflicting. Between the valley of Santa Margarita and the coast, a distance of about twenty-one miles, there are two distinct ranges of mountains, which we examined north and south, for fifteen miles. They are steep, rocky and barren, or covered with shrubs, and no pass can be found through or over them to the coast, south of Santa Margarita.

From Paso de Roblas, however, I discovered a horse trail running almost due west, which, although it crosses two very declivitous hills and is seldom travelled, may, I think, be made a wagon road to San Simeon bay, should that be found of importance. At present, the residents of the ranchos in the vicinity of San Simeon and Estero bays, in travelling to Monterey, take the beach around by San Luis Obispo, and they appeared much surprised that we had succeeded in getting our mules over the mountains at all. We found but three passes through the coast range to the west of the road between the latitude of San Miguel and that of San Luis. These are the two roads, the one from San Miguel, the other from San Luis, (via Paso de Roblas,) which, meeting at a point called Estrella, form the pass of San Miguel; and a road passing through a cañada in the hills about fifteen miles east of San Luis, called the Penoche Pass, which debouches near the head of Buena Vista lake, and might with a little labor, be made an excellent wagon path. This last in the event of San Luis becoming a large seaport and the probable discovery of rich mines upon the streams of the Tulare valley, may become of great importance.

Having finished my examination and obtained what information I could with regard to the Tulare valley, I returned with my party to the Infantry Encampment upon the 26th. We left San Miguel on the 28th, and crossing the river within three hundred yards of the mission, proceeded up a deep ravine in the hills through which we found a trail leading out upon the banks of a

small stream, at a distance of two miles from the river. This stream has its rise near the summit of this portion of the range; it is about eighteen miles in length, and flowing in a south-west direction, empties into the Monterey river about a mile above the mission. With the exception of two or three springs in its bed, it is dry during the summer, and its valley forms the western portion of the pass. Keeping the bank of the stream, we passed through a beautiful and fertile valley over an excellent road, arriving at Estrella early in the afternoon. The distance of this point from San Miguel we found by the viameter to be 12.77 miles; it is a beautiful spot covered with fine large oaks, and with a little cultivation the soil might be rendered extremely productive. There is a never failing spring of water near the bank of the creek, which we discovered and enlarged. Four valleys diverge from this point, through the south-west one of which leads the road from San Luis Obispo, entering from the main coast road near the rancho of Paso de Roblas. The peculiarity of the divergence of these four valleys, and their corresponding ridges from this point resembling the rays of a star, has given it its very appropriate name—Estrella.²⁸

We encamped here on the 28th, and leaving early the next morning proceeded through the pass, having previously sent forward a party of pioneers to make any repairs upon the road that might be found necessary. Keeping the valley of the stream for about six miles, bearing about east by north, we struck a narrow valley or cañada, through which we passed and emerged, after travelling about eleven miles, upon a plain about six miles in length by one or two in width. Crossing this plain, and still continuing to follow the course of the stream, we encamped about 2 P.M. at its source, a point about two miles from the summit of the range, and distant 16.83 miles by the viameter from Estrella. The road we found excellent, no repairs being required, the country barren, but little grass and a few stunted trees and shrubs growing on the margin of the stream. We observed many antelopes feeding in the cañadas upon our right and left, and killed a large rattlesnake while on the road. Near our encampment three distinct ridges of trap rock, about half a mile apart, run north and south through the hills as far as the eye can reach, presenting precisely the appearance of the foundations of ruined walls. They vary in height from six inches to twenty feet, and are about six feet in thickness, but the most singular circumstance connected with them is the fact, *that they lie as nearly as possible in the plane of the true meridian*. We had found at San Miguel, by observation, the magnetic variations to be 15° 28' east, and we now found the bearing of these ridges by the compass N. 15° 30' W.

On the 30th we crossed the dividing ridge without difficulty, and arriving at a spring about five miles from the summit concluded to encamp, although we had made but six and three-quarters miles by the viameter, as I feared we should find no more water until our arrival at the lake, which I thought at too great a distance for one day's march. The road we found very tolerable, but requiring some little repair, as the trail lay upon the sides of the hills, which in some places are quite steep. Upon the whole I have no hesitation in saying that

the road through the pass is quite as good, and needs as little repair as any portion of the road between Monterey and San Miguel of the same length, and is by far the best pass through the coast range of mountains not excepting Livermore's. Crossing a plain 6.04 miles by the viameter in width, upon the 1st of May we came to a small stream called *Dick's creek*, which, rising in the hills, flows south for about twelve miles, and loses itself in the sandy soil, forming during the rainy season quite an extensive marsh at its termination. Here we found good water, and the banks of the creek lined with wild oats, affording excellent grazing for the animals; I concluded therefore to encamp here, and proceed with my party to examine the trail leading in the direction of the lake, which I hoped to be able to reach and return from before sundown.

The escort having arrived and encamped in our vicinity, I started accordingly at about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad and smooth trail, arrived on the shore of the great Taché lake²⁹ about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one-fourth of a mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seemed to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé marshes brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp, and in the morning to make a reconnoissance to the south of our position, for the purpose of finding a road to the southern extremity of the lake, which point I hoped to be able to reach in one day's march. An examination was accordingly made on the 2d, (a portion of the party being left in camp to cut wild oats, which I purposed to transport for forage, as it was evident we would find none upon the shores of the lake,) which terminated favorably, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south of the lake.

On the 3d we broke up our pleasant encampment at *Dick's creek*, and succeeded in reaching the southern part of the lake, where we encamped upon the sand for the night, having marched twenty-four and a quarter miles nearly in an easterly direction from the termination of the pass. We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake, which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and small tulé lakes,

and is of course impassable except with the assistance of boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé upon its shore, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachments of the tulé.

We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the rancheria of *Sin Taché* Indians,³⁰ which we found established at this point. They were about one hundred in number, mostly clothed, and very friendly. The captain was an old Indian from the San Luis Obispo mission, and spoke Spanish indifferently well. Several of these Indians had bits of paper on which were written recommendations signed by various persons, Spanish and American, by which they set great store, and eagerly exhibited for our examination. I gave the captain a certificate that he had treated us kindly, and proceeding on over the desert, which we found very painful travelling for the animals, encamped on the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles. We found here another small rancheria called the *Tinte Tachés*, living, like the others, principally on fish and reptiles, and numbering about fifty. I had a conversation with the captain, who was quite an intelligent old fellow, originally belonging to the mission of San Miguel. He informed me that the Taché Indians, of which tribe his rancheria formed a portion, numbered about eight hundred in all, and were settled on the shores of the great lake, but their principal rancheria, containing about three hundred, is situated at its northwest extremity. They are all peaceable and friendly in their dispositions; and he assured me that they had never stolen or eaten horseflesh, which, judging from the meagre condition of himself and companions, I should think highly probable. We gave them some bread and a little sugar, with which they were highly gratified, and in the morning brought us some dried fish in return, which we accepted, but could make no use of.

On the 5th, after marching 15.38 miles over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days, we came to two or three cottonwood trees upon a small stream called Moore's creek,³¹ which empties near this point into the Ton Taché swamp, and here, the grass being very tolerable, we encamped. This is the first point on our route where good water, grass, or wood is to be found after leaving Dick's creek. It will therefore be seen that it is necessary for loaded wagons to transport, if travelling this route, sufficient grain to forage their teams for three days.

As I deemed it unnecessary for the infantry escort to accompany me through the desert to Buena Vista lake, which it now became necessary to examine, I proceeded up Moore's creek on the 6th for 12.20 miles, to a point about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada, where I found an excellent encampment, the creek at this point, and above among the hills, being lined with cottonwood and willows and some large oaks, the grass among which was growing luxuriously. Here Lieutenant Moore encamped his party to await my

return from the Buena Vista lake, an examination of the country in the vicinity of which I thought might take five or six days.

On the 7th, taking my party, I ascended Moore's creek for about twenty miles among the hills, and found it a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide, the water extremely cold from the melting of the snow upon the Sierra, and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches, upon each of which we observed the ruined remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine.

Leaving Moore's creek we crossed through the ravines in the mountains to Tulé river, which runs in the same direction as the former stream, (a little north of east,) and at about eight or ten miles north of it, emptying into the southeastern extremity of the Taché lake. This stream has two branches, the upper portions of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. At this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood, and willow.

Ascending the stream about ten miles, we suddenly came upon a rancheria of Indians in a sequestered nook of the hills. We swam the river and were met upon the bank by all the men (sixty or seventy) belonging to the band. They received us favorably, although with evident distrust, and informed us that they belonged to the *Thulimé* tribe.³² I had been previously told by the captain of the Ton Tachés that they were a hostile, thieving nation, and observed about their rancheria several horses and skeletons of animals, the appearance of which was calculated to corroborate this information. I directed the interpreter to state to them, that while they conducted themselves properly they would be treated with kindness and consideration, but that if detected in horse-stealing or other crimes against the whites, they would be sure to meet with the severest punishment; and that for the purpose of protecting their interests, as well as its own, the government was about to establish a post, and send soldiers to reside in their vicinity. They appeared to understand this perfectly; but I am inclined to think it made but little impression upon them, and I was unable to obtain from any of them the name of their captain, or the entire number of the tribe. After remaining about an hour at the rancheria we returned to camp, having asked two or three who spoke Spanish to accompany us, which invitation they declined. I suspected that nothing but our numbers and the well-armed condition of the party prevented our being treated with incivility.

We left Lieutenant Moore's encampment early on the 8th, taking with us but one pack-mule and the cart, which was necessary on account of the attached viameter, and proceeding S.S.W. thirty-four miles, encamped upon a small stream called Cottonwood creek,³³ having crossed early in the day, at a dis-

tance of eight miles from Moore's encampment, another small stream which I called Gopher creek. The latter, I think, is dry during the summer months, but the former is undoubtedly constant during the year. Our route this day was over the most miserable country that I ever beheld. The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small animal resembling a common house rat, which I had never seen before, of a whitish grey color, short round body, and very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable; though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there was little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summits being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height. In riding through these valleys the country presents the appearance of a large city which has been partially overwhelmed by the ashes of volcanic eruptions, which resemblance is heightened by the continual cropping out of upright strata of clay from the loose soil of the hills, resembling exactly the ruined walls of adobe houses.³⁴

Upon the 9th we arrived, after a march of thirteen miles, upon the north bank of the Kern river, a very broad and deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and form an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals, and had not time to make a sufficient raft. I therefore concluded to examine its northern bank on the tenth, and proceed to the northern extremity of the lake for the purpose of ascertaining its latitude and longitude, as well as its general character and appearance.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the coast range and Sierra Nevada. Like the other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamps and bodies of standing water in the bed of the Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding country is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well timbered spots, two of which are now occupied and cultivated as ranches or farms.³⁵ Nothing can be conceived more inappropriate than its name, for no place can be imagined more forlorn or desolate in

aspect.³⁶ Even at the early season of our visit, clouds of the most venomous mosquitoes tormented us during the day and goaded us to madness during the night; and we found here scorpions, centipedes, and a small but extremely poisonous rattlesnake about eighteen inches in length, reptiles which we had not before noticed in the valley, and which, with the gophers and ground rats, are the only denizens of this unpleasant and uninhabitable spot. A road from Los Angeles, passing through what is called the Tejon, at the head of the valley, crosses Kern river about thirteen miles above its junction with the lake, and continues through the valley to the eastward of the lakes, as far north as the mining district upon the Stanislaus river.

On the 11th we started on our return to Moore's creek, taking a path about fifteen miles west of that we had followed in leaving, for the purpose of more thoroughly examining the country. We found it, however, of precisely the same character throughout—barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemisias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry at the lower point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above. We reached Lieutenant Moore's encampment about four o'clock P.M. on the 12th, somewhat fatigued and excessively hungry after our disagreeable march; for, in the hurry of leaving, our pork and coffee had been forgotten, and as we had seen no game upon the road, we were obliged for four days to subsist entirely upon the hard bread, with which, reduced to a fine powder by its jolting on the mule, we made with water a species of poultice, which had served as an indifferent palliative to the cravings of our appetites.

We immediately set about making preparations for our march to the north, and having no reason to apprehend danger from the Indians, I concluded to take but six of Lieutenant Moore's command with me as an escort, and those but to Kings river, intending to dispense with the services of the escort entirely from that point. But on arriving at Tulé river, which, at the point of crossing we found on the 13th to be but 7.16 miles from Moore's creek, I met a Mr. Shumway, who, with a single Indian, was travelling south to establish a ferry upon Kern river, and he informed me that there was not the slightest danger to be apprehended upon the route, the Indians being all friendly; he, with a single companion, having travelled through them from the Mariposa river, I deemed it unnecessary to require the services of an escort beyond this point. Accordingly, after sending back to the encampment for the wagon floats, which were required in crossing the river, being here about one hundred and fifty feet in width and extremely rapid, and getting my party safely upon the northern bank, Lieutenant Moore returned with his party to their encampment and took up their line of march for Monterey.

The country had improved much in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's creek, and upon Tulé river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber. I observed that

Tulé river might be easily bridged, it being then at its highest stage and not subject to overflow, and upon its banks could be found plenty of timber available for the purpose, while the rocky hills some five miles above the crossing would furnish stone for the abutments and a pier, which last could be erected upon a small island of hard gravel, covered at present with willows, and situated at this point near the middle of the stream.

Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances,³⁷ a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tulé. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Taché lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than the Tulé river. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we should have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads, and swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring. These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings, and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury and accepted with vast satisfaction.

There are two large rancherias upon the river, numbering together about four hundred; they are, however, apparently quite separate and distinct, one occupying the three southern, the other the two northern branches. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality with which they treated us, and I gave the captain certificates to that effect, which they will undoubtedly present to all future passers by. The name of the first rancheria, as nearly as I could write it from their pronunciation, is the He-ame-e-tahs;³⁸ their captain De-e-jah. The second rancheria is the Cowees;³⁹ their captain, Francisco, an old mission Indian from San Luis Obispo. They called the river the Ee-dek, but I think the name of Frances much more euphonious. There were many mission Indians among them, some from the old mission of San Juan, some from San Lorenzo, but mostly from San Miguel and San Luis Obispo. All these spoke Spanish a little. They appeared remarkably healthy, and though by no means beautiful, were comparatively well favored. The soil between the creeks being so well

watered and shaded, is naturally of the richest description; as an evidence of which I may mention that I observed poles of willow stuck in the ground by the Indians as parts of rabbit traps, which had taken root and sprouted into trees. The distance of the first or *Pyramid* creek (so called from the remarkable shape of a hill near which it rises) to the second is ninety-eight hundredths of a mile; from the second to the third, 1.04 miles; between the third and fourth, the last of which is the main stream, 2.81 miles, and between the fourth and fifth, eighty-five hundredths of a mile. The third, or main stream and the fourth are the widest and most difficult of crossing; the second and fifth I believe to be dry during the summer, but they may all be very easily bridged permanently, every material being ready upon the spot. I ascertained from the Indians by inquiry that they were not subject to periodical sickness, and they communicated to me much interesting, and I believe reliable information regarding their numbers, manners and customs and those of the other tribes of which they had any knowledge.

The 15th and 16th were occupied in crossing the creeks, which was a matter of labor and difficulty to accomplish, and in conducting an examination of the country in their vicinity. On the 17th, bidding adieu to our friends, the Cowees, we started for Kings river; our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Frances. About six miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart; the other two about three miles further to the east. At the first of these there is a constant spring of water, and on the eastern side of the hill, about three hundred yards from the spring, a deep circular excavation or shaft, with the remains of an old windlass lying in its vicinity. We were somewhat puzzled to account for this trace of human labor at such a distance from any settlement; but I presume it to be the remains of a well, dug many years ago by the Spanish soldiers of the missions, who, we know, were accustomed to make excursions into these plains for the laudable purpose of seizing upon and christianizing their wild inhabitants. We arrived upon the banks of Kings river about five P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plain. We found here two enterprising men, named Jones and Rider, who with much difficulty had got a whaleboat up to this point, and stretching a strong rope across the river, had established a ferry. They informed us that there was another ferry about five miles above them, kept by a man named Hampton, who, with another man and themselves, formed the entire population of that part of the country. We encamped at their ferry, and crossing the party upon the 18th, I took two or three men and rode up the northern bank about fifteen miles to examine the river, and the character of the country in its vicinity.

The Kings river is the largest stream in the valley, at this time about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and the water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which, uniting

about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Frances, but they are much wider, and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherias of Indians upon this river, numbering in all, probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills in the vicinity. Of these, those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed towards the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous, and mischievous. I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee rancheria,⁴⁰ situated in his vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late, using his horses without permission, and in one instance attempting to take his boat to ferry over a party of Sonorans. I thought his isolated position, surrounded by these mischievous savages, one of considerable danger, but he appeared to feel no apprehension of their committing any overt act of hostility.

On my return to the encampment I found a party of Indians, armed with bows and arrows, had passed down upon the southern bank, stopping at the ferryman's hut, and telling the occupants that they must leave that part of the country in four days. The ferrymen were not at all alarmed, however, and I think that our presence, and the knowledge that a body of troops were soon to be stationed in their neighborhood, had a very salutary restraining effect upon these Indians, who, I believe, would become exceedingly troublesome if they had no dread of the consequences. It was this band that murdered Garner and his companions in the spring of 1849.⁴¹

We left the ferry on the 19th, and travelling southwest for 19.84 miles encamped on the edge of a swamp at a point about three miles above the mouth of Kings river and immediately opposite the No-Tonto village. As this point had been indicated in my instructions for examination as a suitable site for a military post, I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians, a large body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflowed, and that it would be impossible to cross, even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflowed, and as I found it impossible for anything but an Indian to get even to the bank of the river, I was reluctantly obliged to give up my idea of crossing at this point. I could see enough of the country, however, upon the other side to satisfy myself that it would be a very unpleasant place for anything but Indians to occupy, and the fact of our not being able to get at it at all would be sufficient proof of its non-eligibility in a military point of view. The No-Tontos are the finest looking Indians I have met with in the valley. All that came over to our encampment were large well built athletic men, nearly six feet high, and their physiognomy struck me as less repulsive than that of the Tachés and other Indians whom we had seen. Their captain was an old Indian named Antonio.

He had certificates of recommendation from Colonel Mason⁴² and others, which, by his friendly appearance and offers of assistance to the extent of his abilities, appeared to be well merited. He stated the number of the No-Tontos at about three hundred, and informed us that he had never seen the waters so high as they had risen this season. I ascertained from him that the months of August and September are a very sickly period at this point; and was afterwards satisfied of this from information that I received from a respectable man who had crossed the Kings river in the month of August at the village, and who found its inhabitants prostrated by sickness to such an extent that he could get no assistance from them in crossing.

On the 20th we marched 24.92 miles in a devious course with the object of striking the "Sanjon de San José," which is a slough connecting the river San Joaquin with the Taché lake, but were unable to get further on account of the mire, the ground between the lake and the San Joaquin being entirely cut up by small sloughs which had overflowed in every direction, making the country a perfect swamp, which I found it a matter of great difficulty to cross. We saw numerous bands of wild horses, numbering in all more than a thousand; they were at some distance, but their appearance rendered me extremely anxious for the safety of my animals, which would infallibly have been lost if they could have broken loose and joined them, as they appeared much inclined to do. We were engaged on the 21st, 22d, and 23d in getting through the mire, crossing no less than eight distinct sloughs, one of which we were obliged to raft over, before arriving at the Sanjon. In all of these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between these sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires, and were consequently obliged to return to bread and water, a diet which, though simple in the extreme, I somewhat preferred to the raw salt pork on which the men luxuriated.

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large and deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the waters of the Taché lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend [the present Mendota]. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, and with an extremely slow current setting towards the river. I do not think it possible to communicate directly with the lake through this slough. An attempt had been made a week or two previous to our arrival by a party of men in a whaleboat, who examined it for twenty or thirty miles, and found it branching off into innumerable smaller sloughs, which intersected the tulé swamp in every direction. They also reported that there was a fall of water about six or eight feet at this point. I think it highly probable there may be a rapid near the mouth of the slough, but should find it difficult to account for a direct fall of that height; and as I could hear of no one else who had seen it, although I met with many who had crossed the Sanjon in every direction during the dry season, I am inclined to

disbelieve in its existence. The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché lake, is, during the rainy season and the succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous. A wagon road therefore crossing the Sanjon at any point is impracticable, as it could not by any possibility be travelled more than three months in the year. I regret that we were unable to follow up the Sanjon to the lake, but this was utterly impossible. We found that we could not proceed a quarter of a mile in either direction without getting hopelessly mired, and as the water was fast rising, we could not get back over the swamp which we had already with great exertion and difficulty crossed. There was neither wood nor grass where we struck the slough, and though without any materials for building a raft, it became necessary to cross it immediately. In this emergency a man of my party volunteered to swim the Sanjon, and proceed on foot to the nearest ferry upon the river San Joaquin for the purpose of procuring a boat. This course was adopted and the boat brought up by a Mr. Bridges from the upper ferry at the southern bend of the river, arriving that evening. We succeeded in crossing the animals and arriving at the high land upon the bend early upon the 24th.⁴³

The river San Joaquin, rising in the spurs of the Sierra Nevada, flows in a southwest direction for about sixty miles to a point where, making a great bend of over 90° it changes its course to the northwest, emptying finally into Suisun bay. At the time of our arrival its waters were at their highest stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed by parties arriving at the ferry in boats on their way to the mines, that the whole country to the north was overflowed, and that large numbers of men and animals were encamping upon the plains, finding it impossible to proceed further by land and being unable to cross the river. The point upon which we were encamped at the southern bend, was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflowed. A road from the debouche of the passes of Santa Anna and Pacheco, distant about twenty-five miles, might therefore, crossing here, be made available as a means of communication with the eastern side of the lake and the streams flowing into it at any season of the year. At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet. I think, however, that a large boat could ascend the river *to the bend* during nine months in the year; its further progress would be prevented at any time by the sand bar formed by the confluence of the Sanjon, which extends across the bed of the river and is covered but by about two feet of water at its highest stages.

Finding it impossible to proceed farther down the valley with advantage, I started upon the 27th from the San Joaquin to the south, skirting the western coast of the Taché lake on my return march. I had previously sent two men to

Monterey with orders to proceed through the pass of Santa Anna, (of which no examination has yet been made) and to ascertain whether or not a wagon road might be made through it.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the coast range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the coast range and the Taché lake, we found a miserable barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation but a few straggling artemisias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers. We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th, where I observed some singular ducks, of a bright red or claret color, with a white bill and short black tail, and others of brilliant black plumage with red bill and feet, resembling very much turkey buzzards in their general appearance. I was anxious to obtain some specimens of these birds, but although we shot several we were unable to get them from the water. We encamped upon the shore of the lake upon the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the debouche of the pass of San Miguel having travelled 24.60 miles, passing on our route the rancheria of the Tinta Tachés, situated upon the northeast extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred fifty or three hundred inhabitants. A few of them visited our encampment, two of whom could speak Spanish, and left well pleased with the treatment they received. We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had pursued in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident upon Saturday the 8th of June.

The Tularé valley, from the mouth of the Mariposa to the Tejon pass at its head, is about one hundred and twenty miles in extent, and varies from eight to one hundred miles in width. With the exception of a strip of fertile land upon the rivers emptying into the lakes from the east, it is little better than a desert. The soil is generally dry, decomposed and incapable of cultivation, and the vegetation, consisting of artemisias and wild sage, is extremely sparse. The only point in the whole valley which struck me as at all suitable for a military post was the small portion of internal land contained by the five creeks of the river Frances. A position here would be central, being easy of communication with the Kings river to the north and with Kern river to the south, upon which two streams and their tributaries are situated the greater number of Indian rancherias in the valley. The land is excellent for cultivation, well timbered, and abundance of building material may be found in the vicinity, either stone or heavy pine and oak timber. A road leading through the Tejon pass from Los Angeles, and intersecting the emigrant trail through Walker's pass near Kern river, passes directly through this point to the northern mines of the San Joaquin valley. This road will undoubtedly be much travelled when brought into notice, and the post being established at this point will contribute much to its safety and protection. The post could be supplied by wagons through the pass of San Miguel, either from San Luis Obispo or Monterey, or by a wagon road from

Monterey through the pass of Pacheco or Santa Anna, crossing the San Joaquin at its southern bend and the Kings river at the lower ferry.

From the information regarding the character of the San Joaquin between Stockton and the southern bend, I have no doubt that it may be navigated by small steamboats to the latter point during eight or nine months in the year. In this case, this would be by all means the most desirable route of communication, or a depot might be established upon the high land at the southern bend, which would be but two short days' journey from the post. I should judge that the lake, from the difficulty of getting to its shores, and the swamps and sloughs that everywhere environ it, could never be made available as a means of communication, though, if this were possible, a ferry upon its waters would shorten the distance to its east bank by over fifty miles.

The whole number of Indians in the valley as near as I can judge is about four thousand. These are by no means connected with each other; the rancherias upon the southern rivers being in fact ignorant of the existence of those situated further to the north. Those who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the whites, are friendly and well-disposed; the others, although ignorant, mischievous and perhaps maliciously inclined, may easily be kept in subjection by a small force, and by kind treatment. I have the honor to enclose a map and copy of the valley, showing the various routes, and the geographical position of the various points referred to in this report; also two tables, one of latitudes and longitudes, the other of distances, as measured by the viameter.

I am, sir, with high respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. H. DERBY,

Brevet First Lieutenant Topographical Engineers.

MAJOR E. R. S. CANBY,

Adjutant General Tenth Military Department.

TABLE OF GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS ON THE ROUTE PURSUED BY LIEUTENANT
G. H. DERBY, IN THE RECONNOISSANCE OF THE TULARE PLAIN,
APRIL AND MAY, 1850

PLACES OF OBSERVATION	NORTH LATITUDE	LONGITUDE WEST OF GREENWICH
San Miguel	35° 38' 00"	120° 27' 00"
Santa Margarita	35° 18' 22"	120° 11' 00"
Estrella	35° 36' 00"	120° 13' 00"
Moore's Creek	35° 46' 43"	
Gopher Creek	35° 40' 30"	
Cottonwood Creek	35° 26' 41"	
Kern River	35° 18' 00"	
West point of Buena Vista Lake	35° 08' 23"	
Tulé River	35° 50' 30"	119° 07' 00"
Frances River	36° 15' 00"	119° 14' 00"
Kings River (Jones' Ferry)	36° 24' 47"	119° 28' 00"
Sanjon de San José		120° 04' 00"
West Point of Taché Lake	36° 48' 00"	119° 49' 18"

TABLE OF DISTANCES ON THE ROUTE PURSUED BY LIEUTENANT G. H. DERBY,
IN THE RECONNOISSANCE OF THE TULARE PLAIN,
APRIL AND MAY, 1850

	MILES	TOTAL
From Monterey to the Toros Ranch	12.00	12.00
Rancho de Guadalupe	9.00	21.00
Rancho de Buena Vista	8.00	29.00
Soledad	12.80	41.80
Camp near San Benito	25.81	67.61
Camp near Ojitas	26.25	93.86
San Miguel	29.61	123.47
Santa Margarita	31.25	154.72
San Luis Obispo	10.00	164.72
From San Miguel to Estrella	12.75	136.22
Dick's creek encampment	29.51	165.73
Outlet of Ton Taché Lake	30.04	195.77
Moore's Creek (upper camp)	34.46	230.23
Cottonwood Creek	34.27	264.50
Kern River	12.00	276.50
North point of Buena Vista Lake	16.80	293.30
From Moore's Creek to Tulé River	7.16	237.39
Frances River (north side of slough).	24.93	262.32
Kings River (Jones' Ferry)	23.26	285.58

NOTES TO LIEUTENANT DERBY'S REPORT ON THE TULARE VALLEY

²¹ In the report as printed in the Senate document the name of the river is given as *King's*. In present-day geographic practice the possessive sign is generally omitted in order to avoid the errors which frequently occur through its use. In this instance the possessive, if indicated, should be in the plural, for the river was named by the Spaniards *El río de los Santos Reyes*, "The River of the Holy Kings."

²² The Sanjon de San José (now Fresno Slough) is described in Derby's report as the slough connecting the San Joaquin river with the Taché lake (Tulare lake). In the field notes of the Laguna de Tache grant it is described as the "principal drain from Kings river and Tulare lake."

²³ Captain William Horace Warner, of the Topographical Engineers, who was killed by Indians in the northern Sierra in September 1849.

²⁴ Captain John Wilson, a Scotch shipmaster and trader, came to California in 1826. He married Doña Ramona Carillo de Pacheco, widow of the elder Romualdo Pacheco and mother of Governor Pacheco. In 1845, in partnership with James Scott, he purchased the San Luis Obispo estate and was granted the *ranchos* of Cañada del Chorro and Cañada de los Osos.

²⁵ The Notonto, Nutuntu, or Nutunutu, were a tribe of the Yokuts. They lived "south of lower Kings river, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps." (Kroeber: *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 1925, pp. 483, 491.)

²⁶ Lieutenant Tredwell Moore, of the 2d Infantry, was for several years on duty in the San Joaquin valley and the adjacent Sierra. He built part of Fort Miller and, in 1852, pursued Chief Tenaya from Yosemite across the Sierra. He made explorations for a railroad across the mountains in 1853. He was breveted brigadier general in 1865, and died in 1876.

²⁷ *Paso de los Robles*, or, as it is now written *Paso Robles*, "Pass of the Oaks." Erroneously spelled *Roblas* in the text.

²⁸ A small settlement called Estrella is today located on the creek of the same name, some five miles southeast of San Miguel. The paved highway from Paso Robles to Bakersfield follows Derby's route for a considerable distance across the mountains.

²⁹ Taché lake is Tulare lake, shown on early maps as a large body of water, but now entirely dried up, its former bed being today largely used for the raising of grain.

³⁰ The printed report reads *Sin Taché*; the manuscript copy reads *Tin-Taché*; elsewhere in the report is found *Ton Taché*. Goddard's map of California, 1857, shows *Tontache Lake*. Kroeber (*Handbook of the Indians of California*, 1925) does not mention the subdivision, but speaks of the tribe as follows: "The Tachi, Tadiji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi,

Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi, Totsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range." (p. 484.) Stewart ("The Yokut Indians of the Kaweah Region," in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, XII, 4, 1927, pp. 385-400) locates the *Ta-chi* near the mouth of Kings river at the north end of the lake.

³¹ "Moore's creek" appears to be the present *Deer creek*.

³² Neither Kroeber nor Stewart mention the *Thulime*, but both place the *Té-lum-ne*, (*Telamni*, *Telomni*), on the Kaweah, which is not far from the Tulé. The identification seems probable, but not certain.

³³ Probably Poso creek.

³⁴ This probably refers to the peculiar topographical formation in the east half of Township 26 South, Range 28 East, Mount Diablo Base and Meridian. (H. S. Allen.)

³⁵ The two farms here referred to were in all probability those of the Rancho El Tejon and San Emidio.

³⁶ The name "Buena Vista" dates back to the earliest visits of the Spaniards. Fages, who came here in 1772, speaks of an Indian village which he calls *Buena Vista*.

"The village was of course called Buena Vista (Beautiful View) because of the panorama its site afforded. A prominent part of the picture, we are told above, was the 'labyrinth of lakes and tulares' on the floor of the valley. In the foreground lay the vast lake which ever since the earliest maps has been called Buena Vista." (Bolton, "In the South San Joaquin Ahead of Garces," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, X, 3, September 1931, pp. 213, 215-216.)

³⁷ The river "Frances" is the present *Kaweah river*.

³⁸ The *He-ame-e-tahs* are not mentioned by Kroeber or Stewart.

³⁹ The "Cowees" are the *Kawia*, placed both by Kroeber and by Stewart on the Kaweah river.

⁴⁰ "The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper." "They were perhaps also the most populous before the white man came. Their village was . . . Tishechu, said to mean 'at the gate,' a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek." (Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 480.)

⁴¹ William R. Garner, an Englishman, came to California in 1826, and engaged in the business of sawing lumber in Santa Cruz and Monterey counties until about 1845, when he erected the first wharf in Monterey, near the Custom House. In 1848 he went to the mines with Walter Colton, Alcalde of Monterey, for whom he had acted as secretary; and later mined at a point known as Stanislaus Camp. Shortly after returning to Monterey he removed to San Luis Obispo; but determining to try his fortunes in the mountains south of the Tuolumne River, he headed a company of native Californians, some fifty strong, among whom was Romualdo Pacheco, later Governor of the State. This party left San Luis Obispo in April, 1849, crossed the Coast Range to Tulare Lake, and thence proceeded to a point south of Kings River. In the hills east of this point Garner encountered hostile Indians, after a fight with whom the party traveled northward to the San Joaquin River and Fresno Creek. On May 15, 1849, Garner and six of his men were shot by Indians at an Indian settlement known as "Chawciles." The remainder of the party met Frémont while retreating from this point and is said to have been advised by him to leave the area. (See *San José Pioneer*, April 27, 1878, and Bancroft's "Pioneer Register and Index," *History of California*, Vol. III, p. 754.)

⁴² Colonel Richard Barnes Mason, 1st Dragoons, was Military Governor of California in 1847-1849.

⁴³ C. E. Grunsky, the well-known civil engineer, who first examined this region in the seventies, states: "Derby evidently crossed the delta of the Kings River. The currents setting toward the lake carried Kings River water. Where he crossed the Sanjon was fairly close to the San Joaquin, otherwise the boat from the nearest ferry could not have reached him 'that evening.' The water in the Sanjon (Fresno Slough) was flowing from the Kings River delta toward the San Joaquin. Kings River water was at the time of his examination in part flowing south to the lake and in part north to the San Joaquin." (Statement to editor in 1932.)

THE STONE AND KELSEY "MASSACRE" ON THE SHORES
OF CLEAR LAKE IN 1849

THE INDIAN VIEWPOINT

INTRODUCTION

THE RELATIONS between the early Western settlers and the American Indians are matters of prime importance in Western history. The ordinary official accounts of situations that are described as Indian "massacres" or "uprisings" are usually quite unreliable. And, unfortunately, sentimental apologetics for the Indians exhibit a similar unreliability. The following account of a famous and striking incident in early California history has, therefore, a double value, both as an historical document and as an admirable example of the psychology of the Indians in their relations to the whites.

The writer, William Benson, has at various times been informant and interpreter for most of the American anthropologists who have visited Lake County. Among others, he has acted in that capacity for Professor A. L. Kroeber, Dr. S. Barrett, Dr. E. M. Loeb, Dr. J. de Angulo and Miss Lucy S. Freeland. He was born about the year 1862 near the modern Lakeport in Lake County, then very thinly settled by whites. He is a Pomo, and since his early adolescence has been hereditary chief of both the Xolo-napo and the Xabe-napo divisions of his people. This is a formal rank which was duly and solemnly conferred upon him by vote of his tribesmen at the suggestion of his uncle who held one of these positions, and of another chief, for reasons which need not be detailed here. Besides this, he was taught the ceremonial of the Women's Secret Society by his mother who was a Bear-Doctor and a member of the Society.

His Pomo name is *Ralganal*, which means "Wampum-Gatherer." His family name comes from his father, a white settler, who followed the practice of some early "squaw-men" of abandoning white life entirely and residing permanently in the Pomo village. He died when his son was a mere child, and Benson therefore spoke only Pomo in his youth and obtained such knowledge of English as he has only from later contact with the whites.

Benson bears a high reputation for integrity and reliability. In a recent number of the authoritative Viennese anthropological journal, *Anthropos*, (Vol. 27, pp. 261 *et seq.*, April 1932) an article entitled "The Creation Myth of the Pomo Indians," by Dr. Jaime de Angulo of Berkeley, was derived from information provided by Benson who is there named as co-author. He is wholly without formal schooling, and his knowledge of English was picked up almost entirely by ear. However, he taught himself to read as well, so that to some extent his purely phonetic spelling has corrected itself.

Not only were reading and writing self-acquired, but also the use of the typewriter. Benson uses it in the manner approved of those unfamiliar with business schools and innocent of the touch system. The preparation of this narrative was entirely his own idea and the story is here reproduced precisely

as he wrote it. His original typescript is now on file in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

What may be termed the "official" account of the Stone and Kelsey incident is to be found in local histories of Lake County. Kelseyville where the "massacre" took place is a few miles south of Lakeport on Clear Lake, and is named after Andy Kelsey, one of the two personages mentioned in the narrative. Reference may be made to the "History of Napa and Lake Counties" (Slocum Bower & Co., San Francisco, 1881, pp. 56 *et seq.*); the "History of Mendocino and Lake Counties" by Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Millberry (The Historical Record Co., Los Angeles, 1910, pp. 125 *et seq.*), and C. A. Menifee's "Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino Counties" (Napa City, 1879, pp. 228-29).

These accounts present somewhat romanticized versions of the occurrences in question, following approved models and involving a so-called "chief" Augustine, but they do not seek to minimize the unbelievable barbarities to which the Indians were subjected. Carpenter and Millberry's account closes with the words: "The consensus of opinion is that the deed was justified by the harsh and unjust treatment given the Indians by these two frontiersmen."

The events which are run together in Benson's narrative, took place at different times. The killing of Stone and Kelsey occurred in the fall of 1849, after gold had been discovered and after a futile expedition led by Kelsey and others had returned from the gold regions. Indians of the Clear Lake region had been dragged along virtually as slaves by the gold-seekers, and very few had straggled back.

The punitive expedition against the Indians, which is described in the second part of Benson's story, took place nearly a year later, in 1850, and was conducted with a savagery of which Benson's own account gives only an inadequate notion. Nothing except sadistic lust on the part of the white soldiers can explain it, since the generally pacific character of the California Indians was well known, and Vallejo's agents, under whose control these particular Indians had been for years before 1849, lived on terms of the utmost friendliness with them.

On page 128 of the Carpenter and Millberry's account there appears a brief résumé of the "massacre." It is here reproduced in part, in order to furnish a basis of comparison with the events described by Benson:

In the fall of 1849, when Stone and Kelsey were away with the vaqueros, attending to their cattle one day, Augustine's squaw poured water into their guns. The next morning some of the Indians made a charge on the house. Kelsey was killed outright with an arrow shot through the window. Stone escaped upstairs and on the Indians rushing up after him, jumped out of an upper window, ran to the creek and hid in a clump of willows. . . . An old Indian found him and killed him with a blow of a rock on the head.

Since Benson was not an eye-witness of the events which he describes, it is impossible to suppose that there are no distortions or exaggerations in his account. It is presented here for what it is worth, and will doubtless be received with a certain amount of caution. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing in our knowledge of the treatment of Indians by white settlers or soldiers that

makes it inherently incredible. It is told, indeed, with striking restraint, and presents a moving picture of these tragic events. One may notice a particularly epic touch in Benson's relation of the concealment of Stone's and Kelsey's weapons, an episode which vividly calls to mind the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey*, where we are told that Odysseus and Telemachus removed the arms of the suitors of Penelope before they fell upon them and slaughtered them. Another human touch is the account of the little three-year-old boy who is so carefully wrapped up and left at the fire in the midst of the carnage.

Peace with the Indians who had escaped the white man's vengeance was established in 1851, but the details cannot now be verified and the alleged "treaty" does not appear to be recorded anywhere.

MAX RADIN.

WILLIAM RALGANAL BENSON'S NARRATIVE

The Facts Of Stone and Kelsey Massacre. in Lake County California. As it was stated to me by the five indians who went to stone and kelseys house purpose to kill the two white men. after debateing all night. Shuk and Xasis. these two men were the instigators of the massacre. it was not because Shuk and Xasis had any Ill feeling torge the two white men. there were two indian villages. one on west side and one on the east side. the indians in both of these camps were starveing. stone or kelsey would not let them go out hunting or fishing. Shuk and Xasis was stone and kelsey headriders looking out for stock. cattle horses and hogs. the horses and cattle were all along the lake on the west side and some in bachelors valley. also in upper lake. so it took 18 indian herdsman to look after the stock in these places. Shuk and Xasis was foremans for the herds. and only those herds got anything to eat. each one of these herders got 4 cups of wheat for a days work. this cup would hold about one and ahalf pint of water. the wheat was boiled before it was given to the herders. and the herders shire with thir famlys. the herders who had large famlys were also starveing. about 20 old people died during the winter from starvetion. from severe whipping 4 died. a nephew of an indian lady who were liveing with stone was shoot to deth by stone. the mother of this yong man was sick and starveing. this sick woman told her son to go over to stones wife or the sick womans sister. tell your aunt that iam starveing and sick tell her that i would like to have a handfull of wheat. the yong man lost no time going to stones house. the young man told the aunt what his mother said. the lady then gave the young man 5 cups of wheat and tied it up in her apron and the young man started for the camp. stone came about that time and called the young man back. the young man stoped stone who was horse back. rode up to the young man took the wheat from him and then shoot him. the young man died two days after. such as whipping and tying thier hands together with rope. the rope then thrown over a limb of a tree and then drawn up untell the indians toes barly touches the ground and let them hang

there for hours, this was common punishment. when a father or mother of young girl, was asked to bring the girl to his house, by stone or kelsey, if this order was not obeyed, he or her would be whipped or hung by the hands, such punishment occurred two or three times a week, and many of the old men and woman died from fear and starvation.

these two white men had the indians to build a high fence around thir villages, and the head riders were to see that no indian went out side of this fence after dark, if any one was caught out side of this fence after dark was taken to stones and kelseys house and there was tied both hands and feet and placed in a room and kept there all night, the next day was taken to a tree and was tied down, then the strongs man was chosen to whippe the prisoner, the village on the west side was the Qu-Lah-Na-Poh tribes the village on the east side, Xa-Bah-Na-Poh, tribes.

the starvation of the indians was the cause of the massacre of stone and kelsey, the indians who was starving hired a man by the name of Shuk and a nother man by the name of Xasis, to kill a beef for them, Shuk and Xasis agreed to go out and kill a beef for them, the two men then plan to go out that nighth and kill a beef for them, thir plan then was to take the best horssees in the barn, stones horse which was the best lasso horse, so between the two men, they agreed to take both stones and kelseys horses, so the two men went to stone and kelseys house to see if they had went to bed, it was raining a little, moonligth now and then they found stone and kelsey had went to bed so they went to the barn and took stone and kelseys horses and saddles, Shuk wanted to do the job in the day time but Xasis said stone or kelsey would sure find them and would kill the both of them, Shuk said then somebody is going to get killed on this job, so any how they went out west they knew where a larg band was feeding they soon rounded the band up and Shuk was to make the first lasso Xasis was good on lassing the foot of anox so he was to do the foot lassing, Shuk said to Xasis get redy i see large one hear hurry and come on, Shuk got a chance and throwed the rope on the large ox Xasis came as quick as he could the band then begin to stampede, the ox also started with the band, the ground was wet and slippery and raining, and before Xasis could get his rope on, Shuks horse fell to the ground, the horse and the ox got away, Xasis tried to lass the horse but could not get near it to throw the rope on, the horse soon found the other horses and it was then much harder to get the horse, so the chase was given up, the two went back to the camp and reported to the peopel who hired them, told them the bad luck they had, Xasis then took the horse he had back to the barn which was kelseys horse, all the men who hired Shuk and Xasis was gathered in Xasis house, here they debated all night, Shuk and Xasis wanted to kill stone and kelsey, they said stone and kelsey would kill them as soon as they would find out that the horses was taken with out them known; one man got up and suggested that the tribe give stone and kelsey forty sticks of beades which means 16000 beads or 100 dollars, no one agreed, another man suggested that he or Shuk, tell stoneor kelsey that the horse was stolen, no one agreed, and another man suggested that

the other horse should be turned out and tell stone and kelsey both horses were stlen. no one agreed. every thing looks bad for Shuk and Xasis. no one agreed with Shuk and Xasis to kill the two white men. at daylight one man agreed to go with Shuk and Xasis. his indian name. Ba-Tus. was known by the whites as Busi. and alittle while later Kra-nas agreed.and as the four men started out another man joind the Shuk and Xasis band: Ma-Laxa-Qe-Tu. while this Debateing was going on the hired or servants boys and girls of stones and kelseys were told by Shuk and Xasis to carrie out allthe guns. bows and arrows. knives and every thing like weapon was taken out of the house by these girls and boys so the two white men was helpless in defense. so Shuk and Xasis knew the white man, did not have any thing to defen themselves with and they were sure of their victims, so the five men went to the house where stone and kelsey were liveing. at daylight were to the place where stone always built a fire under a large pot in which he boiled wheat for the indian herders.about 16 of them. these five men waited around this pot untell stone came out to build the fire. Stone came out with pot full of fire which was taken from the fireplace. and said to the indians. whats the matter boys you came Early this morning. some thing rong; the indians said. O nothing me hungry thats all. Qka-Nas: or cayote Jim as he was known by the whites: Qka-Nas said to the men. I thought you men came to kill this man; give me these arrows and bow. He jerk the bow and the arrows away from Shuk and drew it and as he did.Stone rose quickly and turned to Qka-Nas and said what are you trying to do Jim, and as Stone said it. the indian cut loose. the arrow struck the victim.pith of the stomach. the victim mediatly pull the arrow out and ran for the house. fighting his way. he broke one mans arm with the pot he had. and succeeded in geting in the house and locked the door after him. little later Kelsey came and opened the door and noticed the blood on the doorstep. the indians advanced. Kelsey seen that the indians ment business. he said to them. no matar kelsey. kelsey bueno hombre para vosotros. the indians charged and two of the indians caught kelsey and the fight began. in this fight kelsey was stabled twice in the back. kelsey managed to brake loose. he ran for the creek and the indians after him. a man by the name of Xa-sis or blind Jose as he was known by the whites. who was in pursuit. shot kelsey in the back. kelsey manage to pull the arrow out jest as he got to the creek and jumped in the water and dove under and came out on the other side of the creek. where several indians were waiting. there was one man kelsey knew well.he thought who would save him. this man was Joe sefeis. indian name. Ju-Luh. he beged Joe to save him. Joe he could not save him from being killed. Joe said to kelsey. its too late kelsey; if I attempt to save you.I allso will be killed. I can not save you kelsey; kelsey was geting weak from loss of biood. Big Jim and Joe had kelsey by the arms. Big Jim said to his wife. this is a man who killed our son. take this spear.now you have the chance to take revenge. Big Jim's wife took the spear and stabbed the white man in the hart. this womans name was Da-Pi-Tauo. the body was left laying there for the cayotes. this hapend on the east side of the creek. while this was going on. Xasis and Qra-Nas

was trailing the blood up stairs and for a hour almost. Qra-Nas said they crawled up stairs breathless thinking that stone was yet alive. they opened the door of a wheat bend and saw stones foot Qra-Nas drew his arrow across the bow ready to cut loose. for a moment they watch the lifeless body. Xa-sis discovered that the body was dead. they then took the body and threw it out the window. and then they called all the people to come and take what wheat and corn they could pack and go to a hiding place. where they could not be found by the whites. so the indian of both villages came and took all the wheat and corn they could gather in the place. and then went to hide themselves. some went to Fishels point and some went to Scotts valley. the men went out to kill cattle for their use and every man who was able to ride caught himself a horse. in around the valley and upper lake and bachelor valley. there was about one thousand head of horses and about four thousand head of cattle. so the indians lived fat for a while. Qra-Nas and Ma-Laq-Qe-Tou was chosen to watch the trail that came in from lower lake. and Shuk and Xasis was watching the trail on the west side of the valley. yom-mey-nah and ge-we-leh were watching the trail that came from eight mile valley. two--or three weeks had pass. no white man were seen on either trail. one day. Qra-nas and ma-Laq-Qe-Tou seen two white men on horse back came over the hill. they stopped on top of the hill. they saw nothing staring around stone and kelseys place. no indians in the village. Qra-nas and Ma-Laq-Tou. went around behind a small hill to cut the white man off. the white man saw the indians trying to go around behind them. the whites turned and went back before the indians got in back of them. so three or four days went by. no more white man was seen. one day the lake watchers saw a boat came around the point. some news coming. they said to each others. two of the men went to the landing. to see what the news were. they were told that the white warriors had came to kill all the indians around the lake. so hide the best you can. the whites are making boats and with that they are coming up the lake. so we are told by the people down there. so they had two men go up on top of uncle sam mountain. the north peak. from there they watch the lower lake. for three days they watch the lake. one morning they saw a long boat came up the lake with pole on the bow with red cloth. and several of them came. every one of the boats had ten to fifteen men. the smoke signal was given by the two watchmen. every indian around the lake knew the soldiers were coming up the lake. and how many of them. and those who were watching the trail saw the infantry coming over the hill from lower lake. these two men were watching from ash hill. they went to stones and kelseys house. from there the horsemen went down to the lake and the soldiers went across the valley to the lake port. they went on to Scotts valley. shoot a few shots with their big gun and went on to upper lake and camped on Emerson hill. from there they saw the indian camp on the island. the next morning the white warriors went across in their long dugouts. the indians said they would meet them in peace. so when the whites landed the indians went to welcome them. but the white man was determined to kill them. Ge-Wi-Lih said he threw up his hands and said no harm me good man. but the

white man fired and shoot him in the arm and another shoot came and hit a man staning along side of him and was killed.so they had to run and fight back; as they ran back in the tules and hed under the water;four or five of them gave alittle battle and another man was shoot in the shoulder, some of them jumped in the water and hed in the tuleys, many women and children were killed on around this island. one old lady a(indian) told about what she saw while hiding under abank,in under aover hanging tuleys. she said she saw two white man coming with their guns up in the air and on their guns hung a little girl. they brought it to the creek and threw it in the water. and alittle while later, two more men came in the same manner. this time they had alittle boy on the end of their guns and also threw it in the water. alittle ways from her she, said layed awoman shoot through the shoulder, she held her little baby in her arms. two white men came running torge the woman and baby, they stabled the woman and the baby and, and threw both of them over the bank in to the water. she said she heard the woman say, O my baby; she said when they gathered the dead, they found all the little ones were killed by being stabed, and many of the woman were also killed stabbing. she said it took them four or five days to gather up the dead, and the dead were all burnt on the east side the creek. they called it the siland creek. (Ba-Don-Bi-Da-Meh). this old lady also told about the whites hung aman on Emerson siland this indian was met by the soldiers while marching from scotts valley to upper lake. the indian was hung and alarge fire built under the hanging indian, and another indian was caught near Emerson hill. this one was tied to atree and burnt to death.

the next morning the solders started for mendocino county. and there killed many indians. the camp was on the ranch now known as Ed Howell ranch. the solders made camp a little ways below, bout one half mile from the indian camp. the indians wanted to surrender, but the solders did not give them time, the solders went in the camp and shoot them down as tho if they were dogs. som of them escaped by going down a little creek leading to the river. and som of them hed in the brush. and those who hed in the brush most of them were killed. and those who hed in the water was over looked. they killed mostly woman and children.

the solders caught two boys age about 14 or 15. the solders took them to lower lake, and then turnd them loose, when the solders started the two boys back, they loded them with meat and hard bread, one said as soon as they got out of site, they threw the meat away and som of the bread also. he said they went on a dog trot for dear life. thinking all the time that the solders would follow them and kill them. he said they would side tract once and awhile and get up on a high peak to see if the solders were coming he said when they got back that night they could nothing but crying. he said all the dead had been taken across to a large dance house had been and was cremated. wetness, Bo-Dom. or Jeo Beatti, and Krao Lah, indian-name.an old lady said her futher dug a large hole in abank of the river and they hed in the hole. one old man said that he was aboy at the time he said the solders shoot his mother, she fell to the ground

with her baby in her arms, he said his mother told him to climb high up in the tree, so he did and from there he said he could see the solders runing about the camp and shooting the men and woman and staving boys and girls. he said mother was not yet dead and was telling him to keep quit. two of the solders heard her talking and ran up to her and staved her and child. and a little ways from his mother, he said laid a man dieing, holding his boy in his arms the solders also staved him, but did not kill the boy, they took the boy to the camp, crying, they gave it evry thing they could find in camp but the little boy did not quit crying. it was aboy about three years of age, when the solders were geting redy to move camp, they raped the boy up in a blanket and lief the little boy seting by the fire raped up in a blanket and was stell crying, and that boy is live today, his name is bill ball, now lives in Boonville; One Old man told me about the solders killing the indians in this same camp. he said young man. from the description he gave. he must have been about 18 or 20 years of age. he said he and another boy about the same age was taken by the soldurs and. he said there were two solders in charge of them. one would walk ahead and one behind them. he said the solders took him and the other boy. they both were bearfooted he said when they begin to climb the mountain between mendocino and lake county. he said they were made to keep up with the solders. thir feet were geting sore but they had to keep up with the solders. when they were climbing over the bottlerock mountain. thir feet were cutup by the rocks and thir feet were bleeding and they could not walk up with the solders. the man behind would jab them with the sharp knife fixed on the end of the gun. he said one of the solders came and looked at thir feet and went to abox opened it took acup and diped something out of asack and brought it to them and told them both of them to hold their foots on a log near by. the solder took ahand full of the stuff and rubed it in the cuts on the bottom of their feet. he said he noticed that the stuff the solder put on their feet look like salt. surenough it was salt. the solder tied clouth over their feet and told them not to take them off. he said the tears were roling down his cheeks. he said all the solders came and stood around them laughing. he said they roled and twested for about two hours. and they also rubed salt in the wounds on their seats and backs wher they javed them with the solders big knife. as he call it. two or three days later the chife solder told them they could go back. they was then gaven meat and bread, all they could pack. he said they started on thir back journey. he said it was all most difficult for them to walk but raped alot of cloth around thir feet and by doing so made thir way all right. he said the meat and bread got too heavy for fast traveling so they threw the meat and some of the bread away. looking back all the time thiking that the solders would follow them and kill them. now and then they would side tract. and look back to see if the solders were following them. after seen no solders following them they would start out for another run. he said they traveled in such manner untell they got to thir home. he said to himself. hear Iam not to see my mother and sister but to see thir blood scattered over the ground like water and thir bodys for coyotes to devour. he said he sat down under a tree and cryed all day.

LANTERNS AT MONTEREY

SERRA'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUNDING OF MONTEREY AND OF THE
FIRST CORPUS CHRISTI CELEBRATION IN ALTA CALIFORNIA
AS RELATED IN HIS LETTER TO GÁLVEZ, DATED JULY 2, 1770

THIS letter to the Visitador General, Don Joseph de Gálvez, written by the Padre Presidente Fray Junipero Serra, July 2, 1770, from the newly established Mission of San Carlos de Monterey, came to light during the researches recently made by Mr. Douglas S. Watson and myself into the original documents dealing with the "Santa Expedición" of 1769 to "La California Septentrional." It is translated and published here for the first time, and throws light upon incidents of the first few days of the settlement of Monterey. Serra's opening words relating the uniting of the land and sea forces, bear welcome news to the man who inspired the occupation of California, and who, by order of His Majesty Don Carlos III, King of Spain, organized and despatched the land and sea expeditions to take possession of the "Famoso Puerto de Monterey."

The letter reflects the "ardiente zelo" (the ardent zeal) of the founder of the California Missions. Every paragraph of it portrays the fervor of the man who, but a few months before when Portolá, facing starvation at San Diego, would have forsaken California, chose to remain alone among the heathen, rather than abandon the harvest of souls he had come to reap. It paints a revealing self-portrait of him who devoted the remaining years of his life to the conversion and betterment of the California Indians. It is particularly interesting in that it depicts the first clash between Serra and Don Pedro Fages, Comandante of the Presidio of Monterey, and with whom the former was later to have much friction. This slight contretemps regarding the lanterns, insignificant in itself, was the beginning of a series of conflicts between the two which became so acute, that the Padre Presidente was forced to go before the Viceroy, Don Antonio Maria Bucarely y Ursúa in 1773, to obtain recognition of his rights; the retirement of Fages resulted.

The success of the "Santa Expedición" in establishing a foothold at San Diego and Monterey, precarious though it may have been, did serve to ward off the threats of Russian invasion. Thus it was of grave importance to Gálvez whose interest in its accomplishment was paternal; and naturally so, for it was his original conception, and he was the moving force behind it. At the suggestion of Gálvez, Serra had entered full heartedly into the plan. His religious superiors might well have restrained him from coming in as enthusiastically as he did, had they felt capable of coping with the all-powerful Visitador General. For even to attempt the occupation of so far distant and extensive a province, with the small resources then available, was a task which only the indomitable will of Gálvez, and the fervent zeal of Serra could achieve. The reputations of both these men were clearly involved. The happy culmination of the great plan

as penned by Serra was therefore more than a report, it was a justification of their joint endeavors.

The story of the picture of Our Lady, which Gálvez had entrusted to the Padre Presidente, who was to return it as soon as Monterey had been founded, is illuminating. It shows the deep religious atmosphere surrounding all concerned in this conquest by Sword and Cross. Serra's enthusiasm at finding, by chance, lanterns for his procession, candle holders and more paintings, is a human touch never before brought out.

The news that the natives had already promised to send their children for instruction is of course his greatest delight, and shows his eagerness to start what was to be his life work in his beloved California. "I may as well already be called Monterey!" What a picture of the man whom California justly chose as one of her two foremost figures to represent her in our National Hall of Fame!

THOMAS WORKMAN TEMPLE II.

THE LETTER



Viva Jesus Maria y Joseph!

Most Illustrious Señor don José de Gálvez.

My very venerable and dear Señor:

I suppose that by this time Your Illustrious Lordship has received the welcome and joyful news of the uniting of both of your expeditions by sea and land at this Famoso Puerto de Monterey on the thirty-first day of May, and of our having performed and solemnized on Sunday the third day of June, and Feast of the Holy Ghost, the touching ceremony of the first Mass, blessing and erection of the Most Holy Cross, and the raising and planting of the standards of Our Catholic Monarch, whom God prosper; also of our having taken formal possession of this Province in the name of His Catholic Majesty.

I wrote at great length of all these things by letter of the sixth of last month, taken south by the couriers¹ who set out from this place on the solemn day of Corpus Christi.² And although they may well have passed on the word that we

¹ The couriers despatched to Loreto on the afternoon of June 14, 1770, were Joseph Velasquez, soldier of the "Compania de Cuera" of the Presidio of Loreto, and an unnamed sailor from the *San Antonio* alias *El Principe*, who offered themselves voluntarily. They stayed four days at San Diego awaiting the arrival of Rivera and his twenty soldiers who were expected from Vellicatá with the cattle. On the first day's march from San Diego, the couriers met Rivera, who allowed them five soldiers as escorts. They all arrived at the Mission of Todos Santos on the extreme southern part of the Peninsula, where the Gobernador Don Matias de Armona was at the time, on the eve of the second of August. They had covered a distance of five hundred and sixty leagues in the short time of a month and a half.

² This was the first Corpus Christi celebration in Alta California. Crespi tells nothing in his Diary of any such celebration at San Diego after the arrival of the first land expedition on May 14, 1769. The first letter he wrote from that port on June twenty-second to the Padre Guardian Juan Andrés also fails to mention any such ceremony.

were going to celebrate the Feast and Procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament on that day, and since the letters of the gentlemen who finished their reports later than I may not even have mentioned the fact, I now repeat that it was actually carried out, and indeed with such splendor that it might well have caused admiration even in Mexico City.

To me it seemed a difficult and almost impossible undertaking, when, three days before the ceremony, I was struck with a thought which came on the heels of my desire; for we had not, nor did it seem possible that we could procure the wherewithal to carry it out. I who still slept aboard *El Principe*, not having as yet a place of shelter ashore, for only the warehouse of the Presidio was being constructed, as ours was left for later, suddenly realized that we had very few candles, and there was such a great wind that together with the lack of shelter we might well be left without lighted candles at the most solemn part of the ceremony. We could not avail ourselves of any other substitute for them except the lantern in the ship's cabin.

Burdened by these thoughts, and exceedingly occupied with my letters before the departure of the couriers who were to leave that very same morning, as they did, I firmly resolved that the ceremony could not be dispensed with, having in mind the case of our Friars in the remote Kingdom of Titlas, who having just arrived among those heathen, and on the occasion of having held a Procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament there, a monstrance was brought to them from Spain by the hands of angels, and through the intercession of the Venerable Mother of Agreda.³

A monstrance we already had, but whatever else we lacked, if the angels did not bring it, at least what we found seemed like a gift from heaven. The men having opened a large box on board which appeared to be the medicines for which they were searching, found that it contained instead, shining new lanterns, of which no one had any knowledge. Rejoicing at this find and already well pleased, a sailor spoke up and said that he had seen a similar box below; and that if the first had been packed with lanterns, the other might well be also. It was ordered brought up at once, and in effect it was found filled with them.

This happened on the eve of the festivities. And although it was reported on land to have been an accidental discovery, there came at once this message from one of the officers to the Captain of the ship,⁴ "Hands off those lanterns, they don't belong to the Mission!" From what he understood from Your Illustrious Lordship, one box belonged to one of the ships, and the other box was for the other ship; that is they were destined for the *San Carlos* and *El Principe*.

However, this did not dishearten us, for even if that were the case, we might still avail ourselves of them as a loan. In short they did not seem to us

³ The Venerable Mother of Agreda; Maria de Jesus Coronel, commonly called Maria de Agreda, was a disalced Franciscan nun, born in 1602 and died May 24, 1665. She was known for her literary works. Her father and two brothers became Franciscans, and she has since been canonized.

⁴ The captain of the ship *San Antonio*, alias *El Principe*, Don Juan Perez, was, like Serra and Crespi, a Mallorcan from the shores of Palma. He was a veteran of the Philippine galleon service, and had been appointed captain of *El Principe* by Gálvez on February 10, 1769.

to belong aboard ship, because they were made with sockets for poles on which to carry them, and everyone knows that processions are not a part of a ship's routine. Don Juan Perez said that at San Blas he had discussed at length the matter of lanterns, on the occasion of his having asked that one of the two in his cabin be repaired, if not with glass, at least with mica. And he added that neither these lanterns nor the boxes were ever mentioned to him, and that he could only imagine that they had been put on board at Cape San Lucas, having been mistaken for boxes of church ornaments.

I have the original list of the number of church articles gathered together at Zacatecas, and besides various loose bundles it mentions but twelve boxes. I even have the receipt of the muleteers on paper bearing the official stamp, and there is no mention whatever of lanterns. But whencesoever they came, they were indeed a Godsend. If as Don Pedro Fages says they are for the ships, or for whatever other purpose, at the least suggestion of Your Illustrious Lordship (but not at that of an inferior) they shall be placed wherever Your Illustrious Lordship so desires.

Of those lanterns which can be carried on high or on poles, there are six nice large ones, and three very fine hand lanterns. Two of the latter having wax candles were placed at each side of the monstrance; the other six on poles stuck in the ground were ranged about the sides of the altar; and upon it we put the six large silver candlesticks from Loreto with another one, to which we added several small ones.

Don Juan Perez lent tallow candles for the large lanterns and for the candleholders set on poles. These all remained lit during the High Mass, Sermon, and Procession, without the least breath of wind to disturb them. The men from the ship formed a temporary church under the roof of the half-completed warehouse by placing the flags of the various nations about, and forming a canopy of them, with such beauty that even I was inspired with devotion. The circle or square around which the procession was to march, was swept clean and adorned with green branches so as to form aisles. There was pealing of bells, thunder of cannon, and hymns of praise. Everything went off just as if we were being paid for it (as is wont to be said), for indeed "one never carries one's victuals in a torn bag," especially in matters pertaining to Divine Worship.

The beautiful painting of Mary Most Holy (which belongs to Your Illustrious Lordship) occupied a place above that of the monstrance which bore Her Holy Son, and Our Lady remained there to guard the church, while The Host, Her Holy Son, was borne by the monstrance in my unworthy hands, about these barbarous shores. After the procession, the Sacred Host was broken into particles, and Communion was administered to those who were prepared to receive the Sacrament. With this and additional hymns of praise, the ceremony came to a close. The only thing lacking for the consolation of all concerned was that Your Illustrious Lordship could not have been watching it all from some little window. But at any rate you shall see it now from this boring account which I have given, and I beg your pardon for having taken so much time in relating it.

Don Juan Perez during the perilous voyage from the Puerto de San Diego to this one, made a vow to Our Great Lady whom we honor daily with the Rosary, Salves, Litanies, and Novenas, that we would celebrate a High Mass at Monterey, offering an alms of twenty-five pesos. For the fulfilment of his promise, he selected his Saint's day, the Feast of the Holy Forerunner,⁵ Saint John the Baptist. The lanterns were set up again, and the Most Blessed Sacrament exposed for the veneration of all. The ceremony was all in all much like that one held on Corpus Christi, but as an added attraction, something quite noteworthy happened on the eve of that Feast Day.

The quartermaster of *El Principe* told me that in the storeroom of its cabin there were two small boxes of whose contents he was ignorant, and that they had been put aboard at Cape San Lucas. He opened the first box and found that it contained four silver ciboriums;⁶ two of them blessed, the others unblessed. I was greatly pleased, for with these, and the ones for this Mission and for that of San Buenaventura, we had a sufficient supply for the six missions which Your Illustrious Lordship as well as I desire to be founded at once. He brought out the other package, which was very long and seemed to me to contain the poles for the pallium,⁷ so I told him not to disturb it. But smitten by curiosity we had it opened, and at once we saw from the label on the cover, what it contained: three oil paintings: San Carlos, San Buenaventura, and San Diego. The joy which I experienced is inconceivable. We then came ashore with my "Santos," I ready to remain on land.

We placed the paintings on the altar so that the Most Holy Virgin (not detracting from Her glory) was surrounded by Cardinals and by Her lay Sacristan. The altar was a thing of beauty. After having blessed the pictures, there was a Mass and Sermon, and afterwards a Mass on board, much to the universal consolation of our hearts, all with frequent recollections of Your Illustrious Lordship, at Mass, during the Sermon, and at the banquet which followed.

On the twenty-ninth day of June, Feast Day of Saint Peter, we most appropriately sang a farewell Mass, so that this Saint might leave us his blessing and might grant a happy return voyage to the ship that brought his painting as well as the sacred picture of Our Lady. In honor of the latter we have sung five High Masses at Monterey; that is, on Corpus Christi, Day of Pentecost;⁸ on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist;⁹ on the day of Saints Peter and Paul;¹⁰ and on the day of departure, in addition to many Low Masses. Heretofore the painting of Our Lady had occupied the altar of the Mission of San Diego for almost a whole year, where she heard as many High and Low Masses as were celebrated, besides the many prayers of the miserable Indians at dawn and at vespers. She now returns to the hands of Your Illustrious Lordship, by my formal surrender of her painting to Captain don Juan Perez, thereby fulfilling the promise I made

⁵ Feast of Saint John the Baptist; June twenty-fourth.

⁶ Ciboriums—silver receptacles for the eucharist.

⁷ Pallium—canopy carried on poles in solemn religious processions.

⁸ Corpus Christi, June third.

⁹ Feast of Saint John the Baptist, as above, June twenty-fourth.

¹⁰ Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, June twenty-ninth.

to Your Illustrious Lordship at La Paz, that I would do so. May all the Glory be God's, and as for Your Illustrious Lordship, may thine be the felicitations, the merit, and the reward.

Don Juan Perez promises to unload the painting of the Virgin at San Blas, with all due solemnity, and at his expense and that of Don Miguel Pino to celebrate in her honor a solemn High Mass and Sermon in token of thanksgiving. I praised this worthy intention, with the understanding that the ceremony would not end up in a "fandango," and they have already given me their word that it shall not. Thank the Lord.

I deeply thank Your Illustrious Lordship for the generous cargo which *El Príncipe* brought for this Mission and that of San Buenaventura, for without touching the provisions of the latter, except for the supply of corn, which as the receipts will show has dwindled considerably, the former Mission has sufficient provisions for at least a whole year without mentioning hunger or complaining of poverty.

The painting of San Diego, the larger ciborium and other church utensils, I am sending to the Mission of that Saint, and as soon as I finish examining the boxes of church ornaments and things, and when I have made my distribution among as many missions as possible, I shall send on the first occasion an itemized statement of everything to Your Illustrious Lordship or to whomsoever you may desire.

There are but seven soldiers of the "Cuera" here, and the seven unmarried Indians whom I brought up with me. If the detachment that went from San Diego to Vellicatá¹¹ for cattle arrives here, there will be enough men for our purposes, and one of us two, who will be Padre Fray Juan Crespi, shall go south; as for me I may as well already be called Monterey, whilst God, obedience, and necessity do not in the meantime dispose otherwise.

I received a message today from the heathen who live at a distance from here, brought to me by two good Indians whom I sent out. The heathen say that at present they are fishing, and that within four days they shall come to leave their little boys with me for instruction. They also sent me some fresh deer meat. May God repay them for it! I can assure you in the name of His Divine Majesty that if the ship would remain here but a week longer, I could send Your Illustrious Lordship more joyful tidings. But for the present it is enough to say that here we are and that everything possible will be done. May the hand of God touch all our endeavors, and may He preserve Your Illustrious Lordship the many years the same Lord must know that I desire for you in health and Holy Grace, for the welfare of these wretched heathen.

From this new Mission so highly favored by Your Illustrious Lordship.
Puerto de Monterey, July 2, 1770.

B. L. M. de V. S. I.¹² Your most affectionate and humble servant and chaplain.

FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA. (Rubric.)

THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR VISITADOR GENERAL, MY LORD.

¹¹ Vellicatá; site of the Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, founded by Serra on May 14, 1769, one hundred and ten leagues and a half south of San Diego.

¹² B. L. M. de V. S. I.—I kiss the hand of Your Illustrious Worship.

PRESENTATION OF THE SERRA BIRTHPLACE

REPORT OF MR. J. C. CEBRIAN OF THE CEREMONIES HELD AT PETRA

FOR OVER one century the modest house at Petra, Majorca, where the founder of the California Missions was born had been neglected, to the point of nearly disappearing the last traces of it. Recently a few men of good will, faithful to the memory of the seraphic Fray Junípero Serra, led by Jaime Oliver, Town Physician of Petra, devoted their energies and historical knowledge to search for that lost treasure, and finally succeeded in locating it two blocks distant from the old convent where the Franciscan Father had been ordained. They then solicited the aid of the Palma Rotary Club, that cheerfully accepted the idea, and provided funds to acquire that property to be donated to the City and County of San Francisco, after restoring it to its original state.

It was decided to celebrate this solemn act on May 12, 1932, at Petra, in the presence of the civil, military and judicial authorities of the Island, with the concurrence of several Rotary Clubs of Spain and of a delegate of the City and County of San Francisco.

At 5 P.M. the Rotarians arrived at Petra. The town was decorated with myrtle, flags and greenery.

The fronts of many buildings were beautifully adorned, some showing pictures and allegories of the famous Franciscan missionary, who was honored on that day.

The visitors were received in the Town Hall, by the Governor, Sr. Manent, the General in Command, Sr. Nuñez del Prado, the President of the Diputación, Sr. Julia, the Mayor of Palma, Sr. Villalonga and three City Supervisors and other civil authorities of the Island of Majorca.

These authorities, accompanied by Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, representing the City and County of San Francisco, California, and by the distinguished Rotarians, made their way, preceded by bands of music, to the house of Fray Junípero Serra, situated in the Calle de Barracar Alta, No. 6.

The streets through which the visitors passed were literally crowded with people, among whom stood a number of girls wearing the graceful costumes of Eighteenth Century Majorcan peasants.

On arrival at the above-mentioned house, the President of the Palma Club, Sr. Pascual, took the keys, as token of the property at that moment transferred to the California city, and handed them over to Mr. Cebrián, who was the first to enter: the whole company then went into the court-yard where the act of presentation was completed.

After reading the letter from the Mayor of San Francisco, California, appointing Mr. Juan C. Cebrián to be his representative at the ceremony, the President of the Palma Club made the following speech:

"I have the high honor of handing over in the name of the Rotary Club of Majorca, the house of Fray Junípero Serra to the esteemed representative of the



Junipero Serra's Birthplace at Petra, Majorca

City of San Francisco, California, Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, a man of Spanish birth, a resident of California for sixty years.

"We have documents which testify to California's affection for Mr. Cebrián, an affection more deeply felt because during his long residence in America he never forgot the name of Spain: and it was he who, with Mr. Eusebio J. Molera, presented to the Golden Gate Park a monument to Cervantes with the figures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, symbols of the Spanish race.

"Mr. Cebrián made gifts to several libraries of California of numerous Spanish books, and worked unceasingly in extending and propagating the good name of Spain.

"In handing over this modest house today, I feel a deep emotion in carrying into effect the ideal of our Association, which is the cordial relations of peoples by the way of peace.

"In honoring the name of Fray Junípero, we do no more than accomplish the duty of citizens in exalting the figures who make their mark in the life of humanity.

"The biography of the venerable native of Petra is highly poetic, the missions of lime and stone which he founded having now become populous cities of great importance.

"On the 16th November, 1913, the Second Centenary of his birth was celebrated. It was agreed to raise his statue in the Gallery of Fame of the Federal Capitol of Washington, where only two men of each state of the Union of North America can be represented. The proposal was readily adopted, and his name was loved and venerated, acts of homage to the illustrious missionary succeeding each other.

"The initiative of the Palma Club in celebrating this ceremony has been gallantly supported by our Rotarian comrades, for whom I call for a hearty cheer."

The Civil Governor, Sr. Manent, then spoke: In the name of the Government of the Republic, which he then represented, Sr. Manent greeted California and the Rotarians, and praised the act which they had carried out, a clear proof of their patriotic spirit and comradeship.

After the figure of the Franciscan missionary had been exalted, he ended his speech by saying:

"I bear witness to the fact that the Rotarian Club of Majorca hands over to the Municipality of the City and County of San Francisco, California, the house wherein Fray Junípero Serra was born."

The public burst in hearty cheers, and then Mr. Cebrián, visibly moved, said:

"In the name of the City and County of San Francisco, and having received from your hands the key of this historic house, I give the most hearty thanks in the name of San Francisco, of the State of California, and all the people of California, who admire and venerate their first and most eminent citizen, Fray Junípero Serra, I give, I say, thanks to the Rotarian Club of Palma, to the town of Petra, and to all the people of the celebrated Island of Majorca, for their magnificent gift, which is a cause of pride to every good Californian. I do cheerfully add hearty thanks to Dr. Jaime Oliver of Petra, who was the first originator of the grand idea we are celebrating now."

Subsequently, Mr. Cebrián and Mr. Pascual signed the document handing over the house, cheers being heard for Petra, Mr. Cebrián, California, Spain, and the International Rotary.

Then the authorities and the guests visited the modest dwelling which has been completely restored.

In the midst of the greatest enthusiasm, and preceded by the band, the assembly proceeded to the Plaza de Fray Junípero, where a fete was to be celebrated in honor of the latter.

The Square was decorated with arches of myrtle, flags of different nations, multi-colored electric globes and Venetian lanterns, the effect being very pretty.

In the four corners of the memorial to the Franciscan missionary were placed the flags of the United States, California, Spain, and Majorca.

The assembly being seated on numerous chairs and benches, and after the band had struck up the national anthems of Spain and the United States while all stood, the Town Doctor, Sr. Oliver, introduced the speakers, welcoming them in the name of Petra and commending them in high terms.

The Governor of Rotarian District No. 60, Sr. Mantecón, pronounced the following words:

"Today, on rendering homage to Fray Junípero Serra, the Palma Club gives expression to its patriotic and Rotarian sentiment, by the graceful act of acquiring and restoring the house where Fray Junípero was born, at a cost beyond its means.

"May today's ceremony prove to California that Spain, who sent her sons to those far-off lands, has not forgotten her early missionaries, but recalls them with the deepest affection."

Don Florestan Aguilar, in the name of the "Ibero-American Union" of Madrid, addressed then the company, saying he wished to commend the generous deed of the Rotarian Club of Palma, Majorca.

"Junípero Serra took to America not only faith and religion but also culture, which is the foundation of its wealth today.

"With no other arms but his breviary and the Cross, Junípero Serra thought to make of California the Paradise of America, and the cities which he founded can compare favorably today with the largest and most important cities of Spain. And let us not forget—for it is high time that history should be reconstructed—that all this great work is due to Spanish culture.

"Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, who represents California today, when a lieutenant of engineers, left Spain in the year '70, to carry on a work of culture which should be undertaken by all Spaniards visiting America; he thought only of exalting the name of his beloved Spain, of whose culture he was an untiring and energetic propagator; and like those brave men of the type of Hernan Cortés and Pizarro, he took to America the spirit of tireless effort for high culture, that the Spanish race displayed in the colonization of the new world. The "Union Ibero Americana de Madrid," that I represent today, takes pleasure to pay its homage to this Spanish-born Californian, who, one hundred years after Junípero Serra, kept the

name of Spain honored in California, as the Franciscan missionary had done before.

"Within the sublime principles of Rotarism, of which I am a fervent disciple, within the ideas of internationality underlying them, we cannot forget that we are and always will be Spaniards. We all hope then that all visitors to this new Serra Museum will also render homage to the Great Spain, that sublime mother of illustrious sons, who, like Fray Junípero Serra, conveyed to America her culture and her customs."

Then Mr. John C. Cebrián, delegate of the municipality of the City of San Francisco, California, read the following speech:

"After first expressing my most sincere thanks to the President of the Rotarian Club of Majorca, for his kind remarks when I handed to him my appointment as special representative of the honorable Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, it has been a great honor for me to receive from the hands of the President, D. Eusebio Pascual, in the presence of the civil and military authorities of the Island of Majorca, the document transferring to the City of San Francisco as the gift of the Rotarian Club of Palma, the house wherein was born Fray Junípero Serra, founder of the Missions of California.

"In the name of the City of San Francisco I have taken possession of this valued historic monument, with its entrance key: and I have made the donations of views of the missions and books, which California has sent to form the commencement of the Serra Museum, which we hope to see increased and acquire special importance of an international character.

"For this museum will stand as a patent, though unofficial, witness to the mutual esteem of Spain, represented by the birthplace of the saintly Father Junípero Serra, and of the U. S. A., represented by one of its States on the Pacific Coast. This friendship sealed by this monument-museum, without the intervention of diplomatic protocols, is the fruit of the popular and spontaneous action of two peoples: it is a democratic example which should be followed by other countries in order that past misunderstandings being forgotten, the ideal might be adopted of *mutual friendship and esteem* for studying international cooperation methods to further labor legislation for the good of all nations, avoiding custom-house difficulties, wherever they might arise. We trust time will bring such praiseworthy wishes to realization. This is our special toast to the new museum.

"There are powerful circumstances which justify the representation of the U. S. A. in this tacit and popular agreement made by the State of California, because, thanks to California and Fray Junípero Serra, the U. S. A. were able to expand their territory and reach as far as the Pacific Ocean. It is the celebrated North American writer, Charles F. Lummis, author of *Spanish Pioneers*, who emphatically points out this fact.

"Lummis, born in the heart of New England, a Protestant, was convinced on the termination of his university studies, that history books did not relate the whole historical truth, or did not give the correct interpretation of what really happened. He then had the vision of reality, due to his great intelligence and love of truth: and, to satisfy himself, he proposed to see Spain's work in America, with

his own eyes. In 1882 he went to California, and covered three thousand miles on foot, imitating those Spanish explorers whom he admired for having walked the immense expanses of America. After traversing California, he visited New Mexico, Texas, the whole of Mexico, and went on southwards until he reached Peru and Bolivia. In this way he was able to study the Indians, both civilized and uncivilized. He dwelt among Spaniards and the descendants of Spaniards, and, at the same time, noted the traces of Spanish civilization in America, in the way of public and social work of all kinds, which had so surprised Alexander von Humboldt. With the authority thus acquired, he published his marvelous book, for which Spain can never be grateful enough.

"Once we know the author, we can put forward his explanation as regards the importance of California to the U. S. A. About the year 1750 the inhabitants of New Albion, on the Pacific Coast, north of Parallel 50°, proposed to extend their possessions towards the south. Spain being aware of this, ordered the Mexican authorities to extend their colonization to the north of the Californian peninsula. This led to the sending of Father Junípero Serra and his brother Franciscan missionaries in 1769 to San Diego, whereby Spanish occupation was extended northward to Oregon. It was this civilizing act of Spain which prevented the Russians and the English from occupying the Pacific Coast of California, and when in 1846 the United States proposed to occupy California, under the leadership of Colonel Frémont and Commodore Sloat, the latter had not to direct their way to lands owned by Great Britain—against whom they *never* would have made war—but to territories in the hands of Mexicans with whom they could parley. The political history of the U. S. A. shows therefore that the present States of the Pacific owe their existence to the missions of Junípero Serra in California.

"Thus we see that Spain in her secular missionary colonization contributed, although indirectly, to the fact that the State of California belongs today to the U. S. A. and not to Great Britain.

"This tacit pact of the Serra Museum may therefore be looked upon as a kind of just retribution of history, by which the U. S. A. in return for this indirect debt to Spain, adheres cordially to the pact of mutual friendship and esteem: a happy augury for the future.

"It is an interesting fact to Majoreans that Mr. Lummis was the greatest of Junípero Serra's admirers, and it was he who did so much to honor him: he was the founder of the "League for Restoring the Missions of California," and thanks to this, there exist today fourteen missions out of the original twenty one. He also worked to establish in California industrial schools for the Indians, imitating those established so successfully by the Californian missions. (I leave here for the Serra Museum the latest edition of Lummis's book which gives details on this subject.)

"This admiration and gratitude that the Californians feel for Father Junípero Serra, in which the other North American States share, is really admiration and gratitude for Mother Spain, the '*Mother of America*,' as Lummis liked to repeat, because Father Junípero Serra's work was a small part of the secular work of

Spain: it is only one grain of the abundant and marvelous sowing which she spread all over the world. These reflections have been corroborated in the lessons recently given by Professor Levillier at the Sorbonne, Paris. This could be seen graphically illustrated in the last Spanish-American Exhibition in Seville. There Mexico exhibited the *Graphic History of New Spain* by J. R. Benítez, printed in 1929, wherein the colossal work carried out by Spain is graphically illustrated.

"The generous gift you have presented to California, is an act of gratitude, because she is one of the States of the North American Union which has taken more interest in Spain. The University of California is a producing center of Hispanism. Professor Rudolph Schevill is one of the most noted authorities on Spain in the world, as his numerous and learned publications on Spanish literature prove, as well as his collaboration with the lamented Bonilla y Sanmartín in the excellent edition of the complete works of Cervantes, which will probably be finished this year. The professors of history, Herbert E. Bolton and H. L. Priestley have produced a flourishing school of Hispanists, which already can boast a large collection of literature of recognized historical value.

"Professor A. N. Espinosa, a native of New Mexico, is attached to the University of Stanford. He specializes in the studies of Spanish and Spanish-American folklore. All these professors are academicians belonging to one or more National academies in Madrid.

"The University of Stanford is the publishing center of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, of which I had the honor to be one of the founders in 1917, with the noted Mr. Archer M. Huntington, and of which we are both Honorary Presidents. This Society, which has extended all over the Union with more than five thousand members, works with such zeal that it has branches, called Chapters, bearing Greek names.

"These Chapters were incorporated in December 1931 as a National Fraternity, with the idea to extend the Association to Canada, and later on to England and the British Empire, and finally to the non-English speaking countries, so as to form a World Association of Teachers of Spanish: a brilliant idea of Professor Leavitt O. Wright, of the State of Oregon, which has already begun to work. It is a huge association for the teaching of Spanish in all nations of the world; in other words to study the *soul of Spain*, of the Greater Spain, the Mother of Nations; so as to learn the powerful influences which Spain has exercised in the world.

"Only the peculiar spirit of the United States could have encouraged Mr. L. O. Wright to develop his great idea. Spain will thus be indebted to the U. S. A. for this world propagation of her language.

"It would be unending to enumerate all the different ways in which Spain has benefitted by her intellectual relations with the U. S. A. almost from the days of the birth of the latter; from the time of Washington Irving, Prescott, Ticknor and their friends: several of its universities have special classes for the study of the Spanish language and the history of Spain. I have left for the end of this short sketch of the work carried on in the U. S. A. in favor of Spain, a reference to the prodigy of Hispanophiles, to Mr. Archer M. Huntington of New York. It is diffi-

cult to find an appropriate adjective to apply to this notable philanthropist: he is the *unsurpassed*, the *unsurpassable* up till now and for all time. In 1904 he founded in New York the "Hispanic Society of America" to encourage the study of the languages and history of Spain and Portugal (the two nations of the Hispanic Peninsula) and the work carried out by these two nations in America. For this he built a spacious museum with a frontage of 100 feet. It can be called unique, for it is not a museum of one or several subjects, but of *everything* that can be found in Hispania, that is in Spain, Portugal and Spanish America. Furthermore, it is not a static museum, well laid out and arranged, waiting for an admiring public; but rather a dynamic institution, varying its exhibits, sometimes with part of its treasures that are stored for lack of space; and sometimes borrowing abroad artistic treasures for the benefit of its visitors. Its collection is not limited to antiques, for it treasures the most recent of famous works, such as, for instance, Sorolla's productions. The Spanish library adjoining the museum has an important and valuable collection of books and manuscripts; this also is dynamic since it publishes descriptive short pamphlets, carefully illustrated, for free distribution. This stupendous bibliographical activity pro Spain has extended beyond New York, for Mr. Huntington contributes to, cooperates with, and assists some of the cultural organizations of Spain, such as the 'Centro de Estudios Históricos' of Madrid, in their important work of publication.

"This Hispanic Society of America, with its President, Board of Trustees, and three kinds of members, is also unique of its kind. It is nothing more than the pseudonym of Mr. Huntington, for its members are all honorary, so to say, and we have contributed not one cent to the enormous outlay of this marvelous institution.

"Further still, not only has he tried to make Hispanic history in America alive, but he has tried to acquaint his fellow citizens with the complete Hispanic history; and opposite the museum, he has erected a colossal monument to Gothic Spain, to the legendary chieftain most genuinely Spanish, the 'Cid Campeador'; as though wishing to remind his fellow countrymen that Spain existed a long time before Columbus, Isabella, and Ferdinand. In San Francisco, he erected a copy of this Cid, extending thus throughout the United States, from New York to San Francisco, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the spiritual influence of Spain. His privileged brain and love of justice inspired him to complete his magnanimous idea, and he built in Buenos Aires another monument of this same Cid. He thus formed a heroic triangle of Spain: 'New York—San Francisco—Buenos Aires' which embraces the two Americas and stands as evidence to the favorite saying of the precursor Lummis, '*Spain, the Mother of America.*' Further generosity prompted the insuperable Huntington to complete his scheme by erecting still another copy of the Cid at the entrance to the Spanish-American exhibition at Seville in 1929, fully aware that there Spanish-American multitudes would meet—the daughters of the Spain of yesterday, the sisters of the Spain of today.

"This short account of what is done in the U. S. A. in favor of Spain proves that the emblem or significance which to begin with I gave to the Serra Museum, has old, deep and powerful roots, and should result in the adoption sooner or later,

by the two nations here represented, with real sincerity, of the magnificent motto 'Mutual friendship and esteem'.

"And now, not as a delegate of San Francisco, California, but as an individual who had the good fortune to be born in the heart of Spain—I dare to hope that Spain will some day be able to make manifest, with all the dignity which the case demands, her gratitude to this prodigy of 'Love for Spain,' Mr. Huntington, and engrave his name in the heart of all Spaniards. And I also venture to request that all those who were lucky enough to be born in this chivalrous land, discoverer and civilizer of America, will cultivate the ideas of 'mutual friendship and esteem' with the United States of America, thus following the symbol represented by the Serra Museum, and promulgating the altruistic principles of the Rotarian Association, which these days you have made manifest in the ceremonies carried out in the birthplace of Fray Junípero Serra."

The Civil Governor of the Island, Sr. Manent, then spoke the following words:

"The City of Petra has done well to put on its best dress and lavish decorations and fetes to the well-deserved honor of her illustrious son, who made prominent the name of Spain in those far-off lands.

"From thence came to us the name of Fray Junípero Serra, surrounded with a halo of glory. Would that all the peoples of the globe who received from Spain great gifts of culture and civilization, were to give her due as in the present case. For Spain gave prodigally, weakening and impoverishing herself to nourish others, and all she now asks in repayment is that when her name is mentioned by those whom she has favored, it may be referred to in terms of tenderness and love such as is given to the name of Mother.

"I say that Fray Junípero deserves all the honors which his native land bestows upon him. Nations should not be sparing in their praises of their well-deserving sons, for in honoring them they honor themselves. And they should not limit this praise for, if in regard to justice it is better to absolve ten criminals rather than punish one innocent person, so in history it is only right to give illustrious men their due, and rather than ignore or depreciate one man of positive worth, let a few undeserving men be praised."

Sr. Manent stressed the fact that from a poor house in a small village had gone out the man who was to prove himself such a powerful organizer as to lay out the foundations of a city—San Francisco—that is the pride of civilization.

Sr. Manent finished his address by saying that Petra should always show its gratitude to the Rotarians and the distinguished personalities who had attended the day's ceremony, during which the names of San Francisco, California, and of Petra had been so prominent and so united by the fraternal link established by Fray Junípero Serra.

These speeches were received with great applause, the large crowd of listeners who filled the square bursting into enthusiastic cheers.

The ceremony over, the performance of popular dances began. The pretty peasant girls in typical costume made a delightful picture in the classic dances, partnered by cavaliers wearing the "l'ampila."

At about 8 P.M. and while the fête in the square was proceeding, an artistic coach, representing the famous Petra missionary surrounded by Indians that he civilized, was taken through the principal streets and received by the crowds with great enthusiasm.

The previous day a solemn religious ceremony had been celebrated in the church of the ex-convent of Franciscans, to which the name of the venerable missionary is united.

PERMANENT COLLECTION FOR THE SERRA BIRTHPLACE MUSEUM AT PETRA, MALLORCA

Through the efforts of the Serra Birthplace Committee of the Society a collection of prints, photographs, materials and books showing Fray Junípero's work in California was gathered to form the nucleus of a permanent exhibit in the Serra Birthplace Museum at Petra, Mallorca. Members of the Society, Chambers of Commerce and others contributed generously toward this undertaking. The expense of framing, boxing and shipping the collection was borne by the Society and a number of its members.

On April 16, 1932, the prints and photographs, framed in California redwood, were exhibited to the members of the Society and their friends at Courvoisier's galleries, San Francisco. More than two hundred and fifty persons examined the collection during the day.

The Honorable James Rolph, Jr., in his official capacity as Governor of the State of California, proclaimed May 11, 1932, Serra Day in honor of the presentation of the Serra Birthplace to the City of San Francisco. Exercises commemorating the event were held in the public schools in San Francisco.

Contributors of materials, prints, books, photographs, and of money to defray the cost of preparing the collection presented through the efforts of the Society to the Serra Birthplace Museum at Petra, Mallorca:

Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Angus Gordon Boggs, City Council of Carmel by the Sea, Charles P. Cutten, George E. Dane, Fred M. DeWitt, Charles J. Deering, Harry Downie, Sidney M. Ehrman, Edwin Grabhorn, Mrs. Osgood Hooker, John Howell, Miss Stella Huntington, Mrs. K. C. Jamieson, H. A. Johnson, Miss Elizabeth W. Latham, William C. Latham, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Miss Emily E. McClatchy, Capt. R. P. McCullough, Garret W. McEnerney, Garfield D. Merner, Monterey Chamber of Commerce, Monterey History and Art Association, Mrs. Laura Bride Powers, Mrs. J. Rogers, San Diego Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San José Chamber of Commerce, San Luis Obispo Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Melville Schweitzer, Archie W. Shiels, D. Q. Troy, Ventura Chamber of Commerce, Douglas S. Watson, Miss Lottie G. Woods.

EXHIBIT AT BOOK FAIR

From June 15 to August 19 the Society exhibited a case of maps and autographic material during the continuation of the Book Fair in the De Young Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

WESTERN HISTORY

A CHECK LIST OF RECENT ITEMS RELATING TO CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST*

ADAMS, EDSON F.

Oakland's early history. [Oakland, 1932.] 22 pp.

ATHERTON, MRS. GERTRUDE FRANKLIN HORN

Adventures of a novelist. New York: Liveright, 1932. 598 pp., illust.
[Autobiography.]

BARRY, J. NEILSON

Columbia River exploration, 1792. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, March, 1932, pp. 31-42 (To be continued.) [A narrative of British exploration of the lower Columbia under Lieut. William R. Broughton, probably written by Edward Bell, clerk of Broughton's ship *Chatham*.]
—Gen. B. L. E. Bonneville, U. S. A. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 610-33.

BARTON, CLARA M.

The Romance of San Bernardino. *Grizzly Bear*, Jan. 1932. (Continued in subsequent numbers.)

BELL, JAMES G.

A Log of the Texas-California cattle trail, 1854. Edited by J. Evetts Haley. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, Jan. 1932, 208-37. (To be continued.)

BENNETT, JAMES

Journal of James Bennett, whose party left New Harmony in 1850 and crossed the plains and mountains until the Golden West was reached. [1932.] 45 pp., 8vo, wrappers. [Photographic reproduction of article which was first printed in the *New Harmony Times* in 1906.]

BONNER, T. D. [Editor]

The life and adventures of James P. Beckwourth, mountaineer, scout, and pioneer in the great West; edited by T. D. Bonner; preface by Harry Carr. Los Angeles: U. S. Library Association, [c. 1932]. 87 pp., front. (port.).

BOSCANA, FATHER GERONIMO

A new edition of Chinigchinich, the only existing contemporary account of the life and customs of the mission Indians of Southern California. Edited by Phil Townsend Hanna. Published at the Santa Ana Junior College Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana, California, under the supervision of Thomas E. Williams. [1932.] About 250 pp., illust.

BRIGGS, LLOYD VERNON

California and the West, 1881, and later. [Boston, author, 64 Beacon St.] 1931. 228 pp., illust.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazine and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary of the Society the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—Charles L. Camp.

BROSNAN, CORNELIUS JAMES

Jason Lee, prophet of the new Oregon. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932. 385 pp. (3 pp. bibl.), front.

BROWN, JENNIE BROUGHTON

Fort Hall on the Oregon Trail. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1932. 467 pp., illust.

BUCKBEE, EDNA BRYAN

Pioneer days of Angel's Camp. Angel's Camp, Calaveras, Calif. [c. 1932]. Paper. 80 pp., illust.

CANNON, CARL L. [Editor]

Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi frontier. General editor, Carl L. Cannon, Chief, Acquisitions Dept., Yale University Library. Published by the Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. [See also, Johnson, Overton; Robinson, Jacob S.; Villard, Henry; and Ware, Joseph E.]

CHAPMAN, ARTHUR

The Pony Express. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, c. 1932. 319 pp. (4 pp. bibl.), illust., map. [Mr. Chapman describes the early development of the Pony Express, the disputes in Congress over the routes to be used, the awarding of the contracts, scenes and incidents along the trail, Upson's great ride, attacks on stations and riders in the Pah-Ute War, the personal reminiscences of rider William Campbell, the construction of the overland telegraph and the arrival of the last "Pony" in California.]

CLARK, MARION G.

Westward to the Pacific. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1932. 510 pp. (bibls.), illust., maps, diags. [An American history for the intermediate and junior high school grades.]

COCHRAN, EDITH, et al.

San Francisco, her story. Written by a teachers' committee composed of Edith Cochran, Annette Schraft, Cecilia Papini, Zoa Meyer, Marguerite Lents, for class-room use in the San Francisco Public Schools. The art arrangement was suggested and supervised by Elizabeth T. Baldwin. The drawings were created by art students of Galileo High School, San Francisco. Issued under authority of the San Francisco Board of Education, Division of Publication. c. 1932. 207 pp., illust.

CONNELLY, WILLIAM ELSEY

Wild Bill and his era. The life and adventures of James Butler Hickok. An account of his services to his country, his thrilling experiences and his marvelous escapes from death. With introduction by Charles Moreau Harger. Washington, D. C.: The Pioneer Press, 1932.

COOLIDGE, DANE

Fighting men of the West. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932. 343 pp., 19 photographic illust. [Includes accounts of Col. Charles Goodnight, trailmaker; John Chisum, the cattle king; Clay Allison, southern man-killer; Comodore Perry Owens, the long-haired sheriff; "Death Valley Scotty," and many

others, based on personal research of records or on interviews with the men themselves.]

CUTTEN, C. P.

The Humboldt Bay region. *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. IX, No. 1, March, 1932, pp. 7-40. With a reprint of L. K. Wood's *The Discovery of Humboldt Bay*.

ELLIOTT, T. C.

Sale of Astoria, 1813. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, March, 1932, pp. 43-50.

ENGELHARDT, ZEPHYRIN

Mission San Juan Bautista; a school of church music. Santa Barbara, c. 1931. 156 pp. (bibl. footnotes), illust., map, diagr. [Missions and Missionaries of California, new series, local history.]

GIBSON, GEORGE R.

Journal of a soldier under Kearny and Doniphan. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co. (Southwest Historical series.)

GIBSON, THOMAS E., M.D.

George E. Goodfellow. Reprint from *Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics*, April, 1932, Vol. LIV, 716-18. [Dr. Goodfellow was born in Downieville, Calif., in 1855, and practiced in Arizona, Mexico and California.]

HAFEN, LEROY R., AND YOUNG, FRANK M.

The Mormon Settlement at Pueblo, Colorado, during the Mexican War. *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 4, July, 1932.

HARRINGTON, JOHN P.

Karuk Indian myths. *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 107*. Washington: 1932. 34 pp.

—Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California. *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 94*. 1932. xxxvi+284 pp., illust.

HARRIS, HENRY, M.D.

California's medical story. With an introduction by Charles Singer. Printed by the Grabhorn Press for J. W. Stacey, Inc., San Francisco, 1932. [xx]+421 pp., illust.

HOOVER, MILDRED BROOKE

The Farallon Islands, California. A paper read before The National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of California, San Francisco, April 5, 1932. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press [1932]. 17 pp.+3 pp. bibl., 1 map, 1 illust.

JOHNSON, GEORGE ALONZO

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Route across the Rocky Mountains. Reprinted with preface and notes by Carl L. Cannon, from the edition of 1846. Princeton, 1932. xix+199 pp., illust. (One of the series of Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier issued by the Princeton University Press.)

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Stories of Placer County—Tahoe in golden California; for children. [Auburn, Calif., c. 1932.] 61 pp., illust. [Limited edition.]

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C.

Arizona Pioneers: 1854 to 1864. *Arizona Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 1, April, 1932, and subsequent numbers. [Pauline Weaver, Old Bill Williams, etc.]

MALINOWSKI, B.

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MATHER, WILEY W.

The Government of California. Revised edition. A supplement to Magruder's American Government. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, c. 1931. 128 pp., illust., maps.

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Rolling stone. The autobiography of O. W. Maulsby. Privately printed. Los Angeles: 1931. vi+130 pp. [Several chapters deal with the author's California experiences, beginning in 1884. Maulsby was one of the pioneers in the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.]

MEAD, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

A Reminiscence of '49. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June, 1932.

MEEKER, EZRA, AND DRIGGS, HOWARD R.

Covered wagon centennial and ox-team days. Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book, 1932. 328 pp., illust.

NEVILLE, AMELIA RANSOME

The Fantastic city; memoirs of the social and romantic life of old San Francisco; edited and revised by Virginia Brastow. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. 297 pp., illust. [Reminiscences of San Francisco in the 50's left by Mrs. Neville (daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leander Ransome) at her death in 1905.]

ORANGE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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POND, INEZ HENDERSON

Stockton, an inland seaport, a heritage of the pioneer. *Grizzly Bear*, May, 1932.

RENSCH, HERO EUGENE and ETHEL GRACE

Historic spots in California—the southern counties. Stanford University Press, 1932. xxvii+267 pp., map. [Description of places and landmarks in California history as they exist today. The work, which is sponsored by the California State Conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution, is planned to include the entire state. This first volume covers the counties of Los Angeles, Mono, Inyo, San Bernardino, Riverside, Imperial, San Diego, Orange, Ventura, and Santa Barbara.]

RIEGEL, ROBERT E.

America moves west. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931. x, 595 pp.

ROBINSON, JACOB S.

A Journal of the Santa Fe expedition under Colonel Doniphan. Reprinted with an historical introduction and notes by Carl L. Cannon, from the edition of 1848. Princeton, 1932. xx+96 pp., illust., map. (Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, Princeton University Press.)

ROLLINS, LLOYD LA PAGE

Charles Meryon and his "Vue de San Francisco." *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June, 1932.

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One hundred years in Yosemite, the romantic story of early human affairs in the Central Sierra Nevada, by Carl P. Russell, Field Naturalist, United States National Park Service, with a foreword by Horace M. Albright. Stanford University Press, 1931 [1932]. xvi, 242 pp., illust. 8vo.

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Songs of the gold miners. A golden collection of songs as sung by and about the Forty-Niners. New York: Carl Fisher [1932]. 48 pp. [Contains: A California Ball; Clementine; Crossing the Plains; The Days of Forty-Nine; The Dirty Miner; The Fools of Forty-Nine; A Gambler's Life; Going to the Mines; Gold Hunting; Hangtown Girls; The Honest Miner; Leave You Miners, Leave; The Miner's Dream; The Miner's Lament; Oh, What a Miner; Poker Jim; Sailing for San Francisco; Sailing 'round the Horn; Sweet Betsy from Pike; We'll Strike It.]

SQUIRES, MONAS N.

The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri. *The Missouri Historical Review* Vol. XXVI, No. 4, July, 1932.

STEPHENSON, TERRY E.

Shadows of Old Saddleback. Tales of the Santa Ana Mountains, the Santiago, the Trabuco, their canyons and their hills from the day of the Dons down through the years when pioneers built their cabins among the oaks and sycamores. Published on the press of the Santa Ana High School and Junior College by its director, Thomas E. Williams, Santa Ana, Orange County, California, 1931. xii+209 pp., illust.

VILLARD, HENRY

The Past and present of the Pike's Peak gold regions. Reprinted from the edition of 1860, with introduction and notes by Le Roy R. Hafen. Princeton: xix+186 pp., illust., maps. (Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, Princeton University Press.)

WAGNER, HENRY R.

Apochryphal voyages to the Northwest Coast of America. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1931. 58 pp., maps.

—Biblio-cartography. Reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review*, March, 1932. 8 pp.

WALL, ALEXANDER J.

Early newspapers. With a list of the New York Historical Society's collection of papers published in California, Oregon, Washington, Montana and Utah. *The New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 2, July, 1931, pp. 39-66, illust. [This great collection of the earliest western newspapers contains many hitherto unrecorded titles. Owing to the fact that the collection has lain in storage for many years its existence has been unknown to bibliographers. The California material was sent to the society by San Francisco's postmaster of 1849, George H. Moore.]

WARE, JOSEPH E.

The Emigrant's guide to California. Reprinted from the 1849 edition. With introduction and notes by John Caughey. Princeton, 1932. xxiv+64 pp. (bibl. footnotes), illust., map, diagrs. (Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, Princeton University Press.)

WATSON, DOUGLAS S. [Editor]

Joaquin Murieta the brigand chief of California. A complete history of his life from the age of sixteen to the time of his capture and death in 1853. No. 1 Americana reprints. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932. viii+116 pp.+4 pp. bibl., illust. [The first of a series of reprints of rare Americana by the Grabhorn press, edited by Douglas S. Watson. In addition to the reprint of the pamphlet, which was published by the *California Police Gazette* in 1859 and illustrated by woodcuts from drawings by Charles Nahl, the book contains a reproduction of the poster announcing the display of Murieta's head, "Notes on Joaquin Murieta" by Francis P. Farquhar, and a bibliography.]

WOLFF, JOHN E.

Route of the Manly party of 1849-50 in leaving Death Valley for the Coast. [Pasadena, privately printed by the author, 1932.] 29 pp., illust., map, 8vo. [Traces the route, by means of Manly's account, from Death Valley westward through the Panamint, Slate and Argus mountains.]

WYLLYS, RUFUS KAY

Kino of Pimeria Alta, apostle of the Southwest. *Arizona Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 1, April, 1932, pp. 5-32. (To be continued.)

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Wednesday, June 22, 1932. The speaker was Mr. Leon O. Whitsell of the State Railroad Commission and his topic, "The Humor of the Mines." Mr. Carl I. Wheat presided and in introducing the speaker told how Mr. Whitsell had collected and preserved the stories and anecdotes that he heard in journeying all over the State. The speaker retold a number of these, covering a great variety of circumstances and originating in many localities. He linked them together with a running comment on how he happened to pick each one up and the character of the community in which it originated. It is not possible to write a descriptive minute of such a talk, but the members who attended had an entertaining session. There were thirty-five members and guests present.

No luncheon meeting was held in July.

The August luncheon meeting of the Society was held on Sunday, August 21, 1932, in the Padres' Dining Hall of the Mission of San Juan Bautista. The Reverend Father Caffrey was host to the Society and conducted the members about the Mission before lunch, showing them all of the points of interest. At lunch, Dr. Charles L. Camp spoke on the History of the Missions, with special reference to San Juan Bautista. After briefly summing up the history of the California Missions and the results attained prior to secularization, he referred to the rapid dispersion of the converts after that event. He also told of the disastrous consequences to the Indians that followed close contact with the whites. This was followed by a more detailed history of San Juan itself, and its successive pastors. After lunch, a plaque placed by the Historic Names and Sites Committee of the Society on the Castro-Breen adobe on the Plaza was unveiled by Mrs. Harry Breen, wife of one of the descendants of Patrick Breen of the Donner Party who bought the building from General Castro in 1849 and whose heirs still own it. Mr. George H. Barron delivered an address at this ceremony. He spoke of the two owners of the property, Governor Castro and Patrick Breen.

This closed a very successful meeting of the Society, at which there were one hundred and twenty-seven members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Bacigalupi, Miss Beatrice	San Francisco	Mrs. John O. Gantner
Davis, Mrs. Francis H.	Tres Pinos, Calif.	A. T. Leonard, Jr. M.D.
Foster, Mrs. June	El Cerrito, Calif.	A. T. Leonard, Jr. M.D.
Harding, George L.	Palo Alto, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Kahn, Edgar M.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Kelly, Miss Ada	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr. M.D.
O'Brien, Miss Eleanor M.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins

IN MEMORIAM

WALTER B. CLINE

In the passing of Walter B. Cline at Los Angeles on July 22 the State lost a substantial citizen who had been a leader in the public utility business for nearly half a century.

Mr. Cline was born in Sacramento sixty-nine years ago and spent his youth there and in San Francisco. After leaving school he became a clerk in the stock brokerage office of Mr. W. B. Burling, a prominent man of his time. Later, he was employed by the Central Gas Light Company and its lessee, the United Gas Improvement Company. In 1886 he and C. O. G. Miller formed the Pacific Lighting Company. When that company acquired the Los Angeles Gas Company in 1889 Mr. Cline resigned his positions in San Francisco and moved to Los Angeles where he became the president of the Los Angeles Gas Company. He saw Los Angeles grow from a city of 45,000 people to one of 1,500,000.

In 1890 the Pacific Lighting Company bought the control of the Los Angeles Electric Company, Mr. Cline becoming president of the latter company. In 1909 the gas and electric interests of Pacific Lighting Company were consolidated into the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation, of which Mr. Cline became president. In 1924 after 38 years of active service, Mr. Cline insisted upon relinquishing the duties and responsibilities of the chief executive and resigned the presidency of Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation, assuming the specially created position of chairman of the board.

Mr. Cline was a man of great ability who had a fine sense of the duties of an executive officer, which combined with a great love of work, made wonderful results.

In 1885 he was married to Miss Clara Emily Smith. In addition to his widow, Mr. Cline leaves two daughters, Alice, wife of Stanley W. Guthrie, and Constance, wife of Hooper D. Churchill.

Mr. Cline was interested in the building up of the community in which he lived and in his earlier years devoted a great deal of time to civic matters. His death is a loss to the State.

C. O. G. MILLER.

MILES STANDISH

Miles Standish, eighth in lineal descent from the celebrated Pilgrim leader of that name, died at his Palo Alto home on June 22, 1932, at the age of seventy-four. He had for many years been heavily interested in redwood timber holdings, and was a member of the firm of Standish & Hickey. He served a term on the State Board of Harbor Commissioners, and was at one time chairman of the maritime committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Miles Standish came to California in 1892 from Michigan, his father having been Col. John Henry Standish, of the Tenth Michigan Cavalry in the Civil War.